

THE ARDEN EDITION OF THE
WORKS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

ANTONY AND
CLEOPATRA

Edited by
M R RIDLEY

LONDON
METHUEN & CO LTD

The general editors of the Arden Shakespeare have been
W J Craig (1899-1906), succeeded by R H Case (1909-1944)
and Una Ellis-Fermor (1946-1958)

Present general editors Harold F Brooks, Harold Jenkins
and Brian Morris

Antony and Cleopatra was first published in the Arden Shakespeare in 1906,
edited by R H Case

Ninth edition (M R Ridley), revised and reset, 1954
Reprinted four times
Reprinted 1967

First published as a University Paperback 1965
Reprinted nine times
Reprinted 1977

ISBN (hardbound) 0 416 47290 7
ISBN (paperback) 0 416 47630 9

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
Richard Clay (The Chaucer Press), Ltd
Bungay, Suffolk

This title is available in both hardbound and paperback
editions. The paperback edition is sold subject to the condition
that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, resold,
hired out, or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior
consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in
which it is published and without a similar condition including
this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

Distributed in the U S A by
HARPER & ROW PUBLISHERS, INC
BARNES & NOBLE IMPORT DIVISION

CONTENTS

	PAGE
REVISER'S PREFACE	vii
1 The Text	vii
2 The Apparatus Criticus	xvii
3 Introduction, Notes, and Appendices	xx
INTRODUCTION	
(R H C to p xxxix, M R R to p xlix)	xxiii
<i>ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA</i>	i
APPENDICES	
I 'An arm-gaunt steed'	221
II Mislineation	222
III Punctuation	227
IV Scenes iv xv and v 11	231
V Extracts from North's <i>Plutarch</i>	241

PREFACE TO REVISED EDITION

'NOTHING recently written on Shakespeare, I venture to say, shows more thorough scholarship or better judgement than Mr Case's edition in the Arden series.' That is the comment of an exacting critic¹ on the first edition of *Antony and Cleopatra* in the Arden series. It was well justified, and the task of the reviser forty-five years later is correspondingly lightened, the sphere of his duties strictly circumscribed. When work is as sound and comprehensive as Case's introduction and the great bulk of his notes, tinkering with it is both needless and, I think, silly, as though one should set to work to renovate a period piece of furniture. Case's edition shows by its excellences how far English Shakespearean scholarship had at the time advanced, and by its limitations what fields of critical enquiry were still waiting for succeeding scholars to explore.

I can best explain what I have taken the reviser's job to be, and what I have done, with the reasons for it, under three heads: the text, the apparatus criticus, the introduction, notes, and appendices.

I THE TEXT

Verbally the present text is much the same as that of the original (Arden) edition—which is to say much the same as that of all modern editions—except that in several places the Folio reading has been retained against a commonly accepted emendation. The punctuation, however, has been drastically revised.

The only authoritative text of the play is that of the First Folio. Dover Wilson² and Greg³ agree that the copy for it was pretty certainly Shakespeare's own manuscript. The text is for the most part a good one, with two noticeable defects, (a) a considerable amount of mislineation (mainly in short speeches) and (b) some odd vagaries in the spelling of proper names.

As to (a) Greg says that this 'seems mainly due to the author running on half-lines to economize space', and Dover Wilson

1 A. C. Bradley, *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (1909), p. 307, note C.

2 *Antony and Cleopatra*, in *New Shakespeare* edition (1951), p. 127.

3 *The Editorial Problem* (1942), p. 148.

accepts this explanation, supporting it 'by the fact that speeches of one and a half to two and a half lines account for practically all the mishning' I do not think that the explanation is very convincing. In the first place, it is somewhat too much of a 'blanket' explanation, not reckoning with the different kinds of mislineation which the F text presents. But apart from that, so far as the half-lines are concerned, it does not seem to me to square with the observable facts. If Greg means, as I think he must, that when a speech ended with a half-line Shakespeare was apt to run the half-line on at the end of the preceding complete line, then surely what we should expect to find in F is hypermetric lines in which the unwanted foot or two come at the end. For example, taking Cæsar's speech at II ii 37-40, we might expect it to end not with

Did practise on my state, your being in Egypt
Might be my question

but with a single 'line'

Did practise on my state, your being in Egypt might be my
question

But in fact that kind of hypermetric line is rare, and much commoner is the kind in which the unwanted foot or two are at the beginning of the line, as for example, II ii 70-3, printed thus in modern editions

for that you must
But say, I could not help it
Cæs I wrote to you
When rioting in Alexandria you
Did pocket up my letters

But which appears in F as

for that you must,
But say I could not help it
Cæs I wrote to you, when rioting in Alexandria you
Did pocket up my letters

thus producing an impossible first line for Cæsar. What I think is clear is that the F compositor certainly, and Shakespeare almost certainly, did not use the modern typographical device whereby, when one speech ends and the next begins in the middle of a line, the second speech is indented, as at the opening of II i

Pom If the great gods be just, they shall assist
The deeds of justest men
Mene That what Know, worthy Pompey,

I suspect that Shakespeare wrote the second line there as

The deeds of justest men *Mene* Know worthy *Pompey*

but the F compositor, whenever he found himself confronted by a fresh speech-heading, invariably started a new line, and sometimes, with unhappy results, did the best he could to divide the speech into some sort of lines (The point about how Shakespeare wrote the line above, and others like it, has some importance, apart from the question of mislineation. In F both speech-headings and proper names are in italic, and it is natural to suppose that Shakespeare indicated that this should be so. But if italic speech-headings were apt to occur in the middle of lines there is obvious danger of confusion between them and italic proper names in the text.)

The question of mislineation is treated at greater length in Appendix II, I have there devoted a good deal of space to exemplifying the kinds of mislineation which F presents, and in notes on II v 31-2 and 105-10 I have discussed two typical passages in detail. I have done this for two reasons. First, for reasons given in the relevant section (p. xx below), I have omitted all references to mislineation from the apparatus criticus, and it is desirable that the reader who is interested in such things should be able to see examples of what happened more clearly than he can reconstruct them from summary notes. Second, it is important, I think, for the modern reader to realize that 'correction of frequent mislineation' does not imply a drastic revision of the original text, the sort of revision of which he is suspicious (as with much cavalier emendation of words he is very rightly suspicious) that it may be taking him further from, rather than nearer to, what Shakespeare intended. It will be noticed from the examples, firstly, that a good deal of the so-called mislineation is not really *mis*lineation at all, but what one might call absence of lineation, consequent on the absence of an accepted modern typographical device, and secondly, that almost all the real mislineation can be easily, and for the most part with certainty, corrected.

To turn now to (b), the mis-spelling of proper names. F presents us with such oddities as 'Scicion'¹ for Sicyon, 'Towrus' for Taurus, and 'Ventigus' for Ventidius, not to mention 'Cleopater' three times in Act II for Cleopatra.² The mis-spellings are almost all corrected by whoever prepared the copy for F², and they are intrin-

¹ See note on I II 110

² It rather looks as though something had happened in Act II. Two of the three *Cleopater*'s come within a hundred lines of one another in scene II, and all three *Ventigus*'s within ten lines in scene III, though in III 1 he is three times spelt correctly.

sically of small importance, but there is some interest in speculating how they arose. Dover Wilson says 'Working presumably with North under his eye, Shakespeare was nevertheless restrained by no habits of "correctness" or consistency so long as the names sounded all right on the stage.' I find this very hard to swallow. Why should Shakespeare, working 'with North under his eye', and often adhering to North very closely, go out of his way to alter words which were staring at him out of the page? It is no easier to write 'Towrus' than 'Taurus' or to give Ventidius a 'g' instead of his proper 'd'. If we are to make Shakespeare responsible for the errors I can only suggest that he was *not* working with North under his eye, but knew him so well, almost by heart, that he could versify him without reference to the book, and when he came to a proper name relied on his memory of how he had heard it 'in his head'. But this will hardly work with 'Cleopater'. The other, and I think much more probable, explanation is that these are 'auditory' errors. I know that the hypothesis that copy was sometimes read to the compositor is at present somewhat blown upon, and that such external evidence as there is for it is readily (I think much too readily) dismissed. But it is quite clear that some errors in Shakespearean texts depend on an auditory link at *some* point in the chain of transmission, though not necessarily on the link between copy and compositor. For example, the famous 'a dog so bade in office' for 'a dog's obey'd in office'¹ is not accountable for by any misreading, but only by mishearing. And some at least of these proper names seem to me the results of mishearing, in particular 'Ventigius', because he is not by any means always mis-spelt, and I do not see why Shakespeare should have been inconsistent. But some people naturally pronounce an '-idius' ending so that it sounds like '-igius'. 'Towrus', by the way, is interesting, on the 'auditory' supposition, since it implies an 'Italian' pronunciation, whereas Henslowe's 'Fostus' for 'Faustus' implies the English.²

Punctuation Since Case's edition first appeared a great deal more attention has been paid to the punctuation of the early Quarto and First Folio texts than had been paid by earlier editors, who felt themselves free to play any old Harry they chose with the original punctuation. This increased attention was largely due to Percy Simpson's *Shakespearean Punctuation* (1911). To this book, something of a landmark in Shakespearean scholarship, I will return later, but for the moment it is worth while to ask why earlier editors felt justified in allowing themselves such freedom. The assumption that punctuation could be properly treated much more high-handedly

¹ *Lr*, iv vi 164

² And see note on *Cicelie* at ii vi 45

than words arose, I think, in part from a misconception which has nothing to do with Simpson's thesis, and which can be examined without reference to it. To editors accustomed to a style of punctuation mainly 'syntactical', a guide to logical comprehension, the punctuation of early Shakespeare texts inevitably seemed very strange, and it was not unnatural that instead of looking for a principle behind it they dismissed it as haphazard and careless, and rectified it according to their own principles.¹ But the idea that punctuation is anyway much more likely to have been carelessly handled than words depends on a misconception of how a compositor works. The compositor is a man who is trying to turn, as accurately as he can, the 'copy' in front of him into something which, when duly dealt with by the printer, will reproduce that copy in a printed page. Before the invention of linotype or monotype machines the compositor did this by selecting, one by one, from the 'cases' in front of him a series of pieces of type corresponding to the marks on the paper of the copy. Whether these 'marks' are letters or marks of punctuation is a matter of indifference to him, each must be represented by its appropriate piece of type. He does not say 'so long as I get the letters right it does not matter what happens to the punctuation'. Give him the following four marks in the manuscript, *end*, and he is no more likely to set a comma instead of the colon than to set an *e* for the *d* (in an Elizabethan printing-house he was in fact a good deal less likely, since in Elizabethan script *e* and *d* were very easily confused, so that we have *end* for an undoubted *due* in Sonnet LXXIX). It is true that there may be with punctuation slightly more danger of 'foul case', and also that punctuation seems to suffer somewhat readily from the malady known as 'transposed pointing' where the compositor's eye registers the right symbol but puts it in the wrong place, or registers the right pair of symbols but transposes their positions.² But in

1 The attitude of almost all these editors, and most of their successors, is well expressed by Johnson, and his statement is significant, since it comes from an editor who, so far as the verbal text was concerned, was extremely conservative, and never emended himself or accepted the emendations of others except where he considered that there was overwhelming cause. 'In restoring the author's works to their integrity, I have considered the punctuation as wholly in my power, for what could be their care of colons and commas, who corrupted words and sentences. Whatever could be done by adjusting points is therefore silently performed.' The right answer to Johnson's rhetorical question, 'what care', as I have tried to suggest, is 'about the same' instead of the one which he implies, 'none'.

2 Here is an example of 'wrong place' *Coriolanus*, 1.1.6 reads 'And gladly quaked hear more, where the dull tribunes'. A modern compositor, working under good conditions and from the printed page, none the less produced a line that made nonsense 'And gladly quaked hear more where, the dull tri-

general the 'expectation of error' should not be much higher with punctuation than with letters, unless the fault lies with the original copy

If we put it at double we are putting it high. But editors till quite recently have put it far higher than that. For purposes of comparison I selected quite arbitrarily the last twenty lines of the first, third, and fifth acts of *Antony and Cleopatra*, as they appear in the Folio and in three modern editions, the Arden (Case), the single volume Oxford (Craig), and the New Shakespeare (Dover Wilson). (The details of the three passages, together with some further examples, are given in Appendix III.) In these three passages F has comparatively few errors. There are four obvious misprints of words, and two, possibly four, in punctuation in sixty lines, so that the balance between errors in words and those in punctuation is about level—which is what with reasonable care on the compositor's part one would expect. But two of the modern editors allow themselves about ten times, and the third about eight times, greater freedom in altering the punctuation than in altering words. Further, the alterations are not all in one direction, since, though the majority make the punctuation heavier, an appreciable number (about a third of the total) make it lighter. This has two effects, it slows up the general rate of delivery, but it also makes the tempo more monotonous and often destroys an effect of which Shake-

bunes' And here is, I think, an almost certain example of the transposition of symbols in an early text which has not, I judge, been previously observed. In *MND*, iii 11 382-7, all three early texts (except for a *exile* in F) read as follows (spelling modernized but punctuation retained)

damned spirits all,
That in crossways and floods have burial,
Already to their wormy beds are gone,
For fear lest day should look their shames upon,
They wilfully themselves exile from light,
And must for aye consort with black-brow'd night

That is not nonsensical or ungrammatical, but it is not wholly satisfactory. The semi-colon breaks the second couplet awkwardly, *exile* is an odd word for a hurried departure, and *wilfully* even odder when we are told in the next line that they *must* whether they will or no. Assume a transposed pointing and the commonest of all errors, the *e d*, and we have a reading in which the rhythm is better and the point of the everlasting consort with night as punishment for the wilful exile from light is made

damned spirits all,
That in crossways and floods have burial,
Already to their wormy beds are gone,
For fear lest day should look their shames upon;
They wilfully themselves exil'd from light,
And must for aye consort with black-brow'd night

speare—if for the moment we assume that the punctuation is his—was fond, that namely of giving three or four rapidly running phrases, separated only by commas, and following them by the heaviest pause at his command, a full stop Shakespeare, that is, was writing for dramatic delivery, while his editors re-write him for logical comprehension from the page. Many readers must have noticed that the actor frequently does not deliver his lines in the least as his modern text has carefully prepared them for him, but reverts—often no doubt simply from his actor's just instinct, and not from consultation of the Folio—to the delivery that Shakespeare intended for him, and indicated as his intention.

But in the last few lines above I have of course been begging, or partly begging, a main question. Have we any justification for assuming that the punctuation which the early texts represent, or occasionally mis-represent, was Shakespeare's? Simpson's main thesis, in the book already mentioned, was this, that 'Shakespearean' punctuation was not, like ours, an aid to understanding the syntactical construction of a sentence, but rather a guide to how the sentence should be delivered. It was 'dramatic' or 'rhetorical' rather than logical, and was, largely for that reason, usually considerably lighter than ours. Further, since it was not confined within the comparatively narrow limits of syntactical exposition, it was an instrument which could be used to indicate considerable and often subtle varieties of interpretation. It was a dramatic tool, not a grammatical one.

Of the fundamental soundness of Simpson's general idea there is, I think, little doubt, and of its importance, if sound, no doubt at all. But it is true that in the natural enthusiasm created by the application of a new idea a good deal of nonsense was talked, and attempts were made, for example, to justify every apparently intrusive comma by over-subtle argument which would not stand up to examination. As a result there has been a strong reaction, and some critics, eager to pounce on absurdities of detailed example, have been led—I think misled—into dismissing the whole theory as moonshine.¹

Two distinct questions arise. Is the punctuation of the early texts an approximation to Shakespeare's own? If not, has it any connection with theatrical performance, or is it the compositor's own, following 'house-style' (if any), or his own temporary whim? Now those critics who hold that, except in a few special instances, it is idle to descry Shakespeare's, or any other playwright's, own in-

¹ There is a balanced criticism of the theory in Chambers's *William Shakespeare*, I, pp. 190-6. I think he misses one point.

tentions in the punctuation of the early texts, can justifiably point to the famous three pages of *Sir Thomas More*, which are most inadequately punctuated, and to some, though not all, of the other extant dramatic manuscripts of the period. But they seem tacitly to assume that if the punctuation is not the author's, then it is the compositor's. This is surely not so, and the view, I think, depends on a failure to imagine what must have happened to an author's manuscript after it was delivered to the players. Sir Edmund Chambers gives a clear account¹ of the operations of the man he calls the 'stage-reviser'—the man, that is, who prepared the manuscript for direct use in the theatre, checking entries and exits, amplifying, if necessary, the stage-directions, and so on. But even Chambers does no more than glance by implication at another operation which this man must, so far as I can see, have conducted if it had not already been done. Before the play can go into production, each actor must be handed a transcript of his part. But no actor can efficiently study an unpunctuated, or very inadequately punctuated, part. Hence someone, whether the author himself or the 'stage-reviser' (probably identical with the book-keeper), must complete the punctuation before these transcripts are made and handed out. And if the author is in close contact with the players (as, for example, Shakespeare and Heywood were) my guess is that the 'someone' is likely to have been the author himself. But at least it seems moderately certain that the printed punctuation is the compositor's attempt to reproduce what was before him, and that that was at least contemporary theatrical punctuation.

But can we with any justification suppose that the punctuation of the original manuscript was Shakespeare's own? The probability, now generally accepted, that the manuscript which went to the printer was either Shakespeare's own original, or at worst at only one remove from that, does not much help us, since it can always be argued that though the words were his the punctuation was not, but was inserted by someone else. We are reduced therefore to an examination of a few bits of direct evidence and to a consideration of likelihood. The question to which we are trying to find what must be at best a largely conjectural answer, is 'Was Shakespeare a careless punctuator?'

In the first place it is demonstrable and generally admitted that on occasion he was extremely careful. The passage in *MND*, v 1 108-16 is punctuated (i.e. mis-punctuated, beyond the range of the wildest compositor's nightmare) to indicate the breathless mis-delivery of the prologist, and the comments of Theseus and

¹ *Op cit*, pp 108-23

Lysander put this beyond doubt Chambers also admits as examples of care on Shakespeare's part 'Pistol's gabble when he eats the leek or the pace of Margaret's tongue in *Much Ado About Nothing*' (*H5*, v 1 47, *Ado*, III iv 78 onwards—both passages are unhappily over-punctuated in most modern editions) But I think that he misses the significance of the two passages, especially Pistol's The carefulness of the author, which is admitted, is shown not in punctuation, but in *non-punctuation* To secure a particular effect he deliberately omits normal punctuation But, if the whole manuscript had been very inadequately punctuated, no one, whether compositor or transcriber, would have noticed anything out of the way or suspected any particular intention on Shakespeare's part, as a result, surely, in would have gone some form of punctuation Either then Shakespeare inserted specific directions that these passages were to be left almost unpunctuated, or these passages were at variance with his normal practice I think the second alternative the more likely

This is partly because I find it hard to accept the view that Shakespeare was 'normally a rapid writer, who did not trouble about punctuation, but occasionally became more careful' Rapid he may have been, and probably was, but why therefore assume that he did not trouble about punctuation? After all, punctuation (of whatever type) is a tool of any writer's trade, and Shakespeare was a skilled workman, more, he was a skilled *dramatic* workman, who knew precisely the effects he wanted produced by the spoken word There seems to be a curious *non sequitur* which lurks in a good deal of writing on the subject, and every now and then emerges 'A few writers are always careless in punctuation, many writers are occasionally careless, therefore most writers are always careless' Stated in those terms the absurdity is of course apparent, but there does seem a tendency to assume that writers are a careless race, and careless in particular about their stops It is of course impossible to prove a negative, but the example of Keats is interesting He was, so far as one can judge, a rapid worker, though in the heat of composition he would correct and correct till he got what he wanted, he disliked cold-blooded revision, and in the ordinary run of his letters he was if not a careless at least a very limited punctuator—for long stretches there will be nothing but full stops and dashes But when, in these same letters, he is being Keats the deliberate poet, when he wants to be sure that a poem he cares about will be rightly read, he is very far from either careless or limited Some of the less important poems in the letters are inadequately punctuated, but look at the verse epistle to his brother (letter 2 in M

Buxton Forman's 3rd edition), at the *Ode to Psyche* (letter 123), and *To Autumn* (letter 152). All are punctuated with the greatest care, and so are many others, and not infrequently the punctuation is more effective than that of the printed text. I find it hard to believe that Shakespeare was more careless than Keats, and even harder to believe that by carelessness he robbed himself of a device by the use of which he could go some way towards securing what he wanted.

I think therefore that in the punctuation of the early texts we have, pretty certainly, at least 'playhouse' punctuation, and very possibly a great deal of Shakespeare's own. If this is so, it means that no modern editor can neglect the Q and F punctuation. I should go further, and be prepared to say that no editor can desert it without very careful consideration, and if he does so, does so at his peril. An alteration in the original punctuation should be regarded as no less an emendation than a change in a word, and should be felt to need the same kind of justification. The justification may often be much easier to find, but that is no excuse for not looking for it.

For these reasons I have in the text which follows retained an unusually high proportion of the F punctuation, and I think that any readers who are interested in the subject, and will compare the following passages in this edition with the same passages in others, will appreciate the difference in effect. I III 71-3, and V II 193-5. These passages, together with further examples, are given in full in Appendix III, and attention is drawn in the notes on a number of lines to the way in which the usual modern emendation of the F punctuation has wrecked the intended sense.

Stage directions, scene-divisions, etc. I have retained wherever possible the stage-directions of F, which are more complete and satisfactory than in many plays, I have made the minimum of addition to them (from the copious store provided by the early editors) where, for example, a necessary exit has been omitted, or where the indication of 'business' is helpful to the reader, and in a number of places I have, for reasons given in the notes, not accepted the usual modifications of them, since I think that Shakespeare's stage-directions, particularly in the matter of the order in which characters enter, not infrequently have a significance which facile modification has obscured.

I have retained the usual scene-divisions. They are convenient for reference, and so long as we remember that to the Elizabethans a new scene did not mean new scenery, but simply the sequence of the exit of one group of characters, a momentarily bare stage, and the entry of a new group, the retention does not do much harm. In

two places (III viii-x and IV x-xii) I have tried to indicate something of the Elizabethan continuity by omitting the vexatious 'another part of the play' indication of locality

Indications of locality at the beginning of scenes I have, with some hesitation, retained in their simplest form I dislike most of them, and I think we lose appreciably by not becoming accustomed, in Shakespeare and other Elizabethan drama, to 'non-localized' scenes—some characters meet 'somewhere' to transact some necessary business of the play, and where the 'somewhere' is may often be of small importance But the modern reader expects them, and is perhaps needlessly distracted by their absence, since, if he insists on knowing where he is, he wastes time, better spent on listening to the characters, in trying to deduce it from the text But I have bracketed them, as well as the scene divisions, as a continued reminder that they do not occur in F And I have omitted any notice of them from the apparatus criticus It seems to me of the least possible importance whether it was Rowe, or Hammer, or Capell who inserted this or that example of them All that matters is that F has *none* of them

The Text (verbally) Here there is little to be said There is a comparatively small number of instances of obvious corruption, of which the curative emendations have been, since their promulgation, almost universally accepted These are commented on in the apparatus criticus and the notes There are a few other passages where I am inclined to think that something has gone wrong, and where I have made speculative suggestions I am far from confident of any of the suggestions—certainly not nearly confident enough to promote them to the text—but there are two or three places where I am fairly confident that the possibility of corruption is at least worth consideration, whatever the cure may be ¹

2 THE APPARATUS CRITICUS

This I have considerably lightened In an edition such as this, which does not pretend to present an exhaustive apparatus, like that of the Furness *Variorum*, it is, I think, important that what is given should be readily comprehensible, and should not obscure salient points by a cloud of minor ones

I have therefore cut out all record of mislineations, and transferred the consideration of this problem to Appendix II It is next to impossible for anyone, without long practice, to construct, from

¹ Eg I i 41, I iii 80, II i 22, II vi 54, III x 32, IV ii 30-1 And at I i 50 I have substituted a new (so far as I know) emendation for the hitherto accepted one

the abbreviated notes of an apparatus, a picture of what the F text in fact looks like, or to deduce from a series of such notes the types of mislineating which occur. The study of this problem—which in any case is of comparatively small importance—can be conducted only by an examination of a copy, or a facsimile, of the Folio. But something can be done by an examination of a number of examples, if they are given *in extenso*.

I have cut out almost all variants in proper names, and transferred this feature also of F to the introduction (p. x above). All that matters here is that some proper names are regularly, and some occasionally, mis-spelt, that F₂ corrected most of them (indicating that some trouble was taken in preparing the copy for F₂), and that mis-spellings of at least two names come in blocks. This last point, probably the least unimportant of the three, is hard to emphasize in an apparatus. I have, however, left in the apparatus an occasional example, as a reminder.

I have also cut out, for reasons given above, in the section on 'Stage directions, etc.', all record of the various indications of locality inserted by editors.

I have made one change which I think is perhaps more important than it looks, namely, the excision throughout of the symbol Ff. Since Furness in the Variorum edition, printing the F₁ text, meant by Ff an agreement of F₂, F₃, and F₄, whereas Case in the original Arden edition meant an agreement of all the four Folios, the symbol is confusing anyway. But I think it is much worse than confusing, since it is apt to suggest to a reader not versed in textual problems that all four folios together have in some way or other a superior and overriding authority which F alone has not. And this is not so. The successive Folios, like successive Quartos, each printed from the last, occasionally emend, and occasionally introduce new errors, but none of them has any 'authority', which only consultation of the original manuscript could have given. Johnson was wiser about this than many of his predecessors and successors. 'In his enumeration of editions, he [Theobald] mentions the two first folios as of high, and the third folio as of middle authority, but the truth is, that the first is equivalent to all others, and that the rest only deviate from it by the printer's negligence' (A slight overstatement, since the latter Folios do occasionally emend). For the same reason emendations in the later Folios derive no superior probability over those of later editions from greater proximity of date to the first Folio, and these emendations are to be judged by precisely the same standards as one would apply to an emendation of 1953, with one small qualification. The second Folio, printed

nine years after the first, is less likely than eighteenth-century editions to contain emendations which a more intimate knowledge of Elizabethan idiom would have shown to be needless, and such emendations as it may make are more likely to be consonant with that idiom¹

The present apparatus criticus therefore contains the following (a) adequate material for the study of all the major and most of the minor textual cruxes, giving the original reading and a selection from the often very numerous suggested emendations, (b) a record of additions to (other than those of locality), and departures from, the stage-directions of F, (c) a limited number of quite minor errors, and occasional oddities of spelling, in F, selected so far as possible for their relevance to the textual study of other plays as well as this—e.g. errors which depend on the common *e d*, or the equally common *minim*, confusion, or, in spelling, F's *bin* for *been*, which may have some bearing on, e.g. the odd *cliffe-cleepe* variant in *Hamlet*, (d) a few examples of the needless or wild conjecture, included simply as warning illustrations of the *cacoethes emendandi*

It is apparent, therefore, that the apparatus is eclectic, eclectic to some extent it must be, for reasons already given, but is also sometimes so in a fashion, and on a principle, which are, I know, open to criticism. In constructing the apparatus, and deciding what to include and what to omit, I have tried to keep in mind two main types of reader, the student who is in the early or prentice days of his study of textual problems, and the ordinary reader who is mainly concerned with reading the plays as plays, who relies therefore on his edition primarily for discussion of points of meaning or dramatic presentation, but who is prepared every now and again to be interested in a technical problem. For both classes it is desirable to let the important things stand out, and not embed them in a mass of minor ones. Hence, for example, I have often, after giving the name of the editor who first made the emendation, said 'and many other edd' instead of giving a string of names, which would be significant only to the mature scholar, already well-versed, or wanting to be better versed, in the habit of mind of this or that editor. But there is a type of what one may call 'recurrent variant' which raises a problem. Many of these variants are matters of spelling, and some may be significant and some not. For example, the Folio's very frequent *loose* for *lose* is no more than a normal Elizabethan spelling, and is, I think rightly, silently modernized, in common with others of the same kind. On the

¹ Whoever prepared the copy for F₂ took a good deal of trouble over his job. Apart from the proper names, he made a number of needless, and sometimes pedantic, changes, but also a number of sensible, if pedestrian, emendations.

other hand the Folio's frequent *bin* for *been* has some significance with regard to Elizabethan pronunciation, and therefore, possibly, with regard to problems elsewhere. But to record every occurrence of *bin* would be not only tiresome to the reader but, in an apparatus of this scope, disproportionate. I have therefore given only one instance of *bin*. I do not think that this is misleading so long as it is made clear (whether in the apparatus itself, as with *bin*, or in notes or introduction, as with mis-spelt proper names) that the instance recorded is not an isolated one, but is given as an example.

I have occasionally, following Case's example, admitted an explanatory word or two, when this seemed the way to direct the reader's attention to what matters and save him from wasting time on what does not.

There is one last point to which attention should be drawn. A mark of punctuation which in the text follows a word or phrase included in the apparatus is recorded only when it is the point, or one of the points, at issue (e.g. 'chaps,' at III v 13). But to this rule there is, for typographical reasons, one general exception. Words which in the text are printed in italic type (i.e. stage-directions) appear in italic also in the apparatus, but so do the names of editors. This, in the absence of some recognized symbol to separate the words cited from the name of the editor concerned, has sometimes odd results. I have therefore retained in the apparatus the full stop which closes stage-directions. This is admittedly inconsistent, but it avoids such entries as '*They wake Rowe*' or '*Noise within Capell*'.

3 INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND APPENDICES

The introduction, for reasons already explained, I have left almost as it stood, venturing only on half a dozen minor verbal alterations where I thought that Case had not made his meaning as clear as he would have wished. Any matter of my own is by way of addition, not alteration, and is indicated by being included between a † and [R].

In the notes I have allowed myself a freer, but only slightly freer, hand. I have added, without comment, a certain number of glosses where Case had left unglossed a word or phrase which might puzzle a modern reader. I have occasionally (again without comment) cut out one of Case's more recondite illustrations—I think that Case's wealth and range of knowledge sometimes defeats its own ends and bewilders or wearies the reader instead of illuminating him—but on the other side I have on occasion given in full a Shakespearean illustration to which Case gave only a

reference Illustrations from a man's own work are always, I think, more valuable than those from others, and it is only, in my experience, the rarely assiduous student who will look up a casual reference Lastly, I have re-written some notes, and made additions, whether by way of amplification or doubt, to others, as well as making a few suggestions of my own It will not, I hope, be vexatious to the reader to find all the modifications or additions in this last category indicated by the same symbols († [R]) Where so much has been left untouched I see no reason why I should foist on to Case, by the absence of any such indication, the responsibility for comment with which he might have seriously disagreed

Appendices I have incorporated most of Case's Appendix I in the notes on the passages concerned, but I have left standing the long note on the arm-gaunt steed This unhappy animal has caused more trouble than he is worth, but the note is worth retaining, partly as an example of painstaking scholarship, and partly as an example (even an awful example) of the vagaries of emenders I have cut out altogether his Appendix II It was a presentation, almost as exhaustive as the five pages of the Furness *Variorum*, of the many explanations and emendations of II ii 206-8 Since most of the expositors expose little but themselves, and demonstrate little but the fact that determined resolution can always find difficulties where no difficulties are, the presentation of their labours throws little light on a passage which we have, I think, as Shakespeare wrote it and the Folio correctly presented it

I have added three appendices of my own, one on the mislineation of F, one containing examples of punctuation, and one on the staging of certain scenes

My thanks are due to Dr H F Brooks for his scholarly and generous help, particularly with the apparatus, but also in making a number of illuminating suggestions about isolated points of text and interpretation

M R R

INTRODUCTION

(R. H. CASE 1906)

This edition of *Antony and Cleopatra* presents the first folio text with the majority of those emendations which in course of time have secured almost universal assent, no others, whether accepted in one or more editions or merely suggested, possessing, in the editor's judgement, that probability only short of certainty which alone justifies adoption. Certain changes countenanced by the best editions have, on the other hand, been rejected in favour of the original readings, and are here briefly indicated.

The plurals in *-th* and *-s*, so extremely common in the literature of the period, have been restored wherever they occur in the folio, and similarly other slight variations from modern grammar—obsolete forms of words (mere differences of spelling excepted)—are invariably given in place of following the usual eclectic plan. The folio forms of names, where they correspond with those of North and are consequently not press errors, are retained, and finally, also, besides the folio readings in certain places, its sense-affecting punctuation in the following passages, for reasons given in the notes in each case: I i 4, v 74-5, II ii 71-2, III xiii 74, IV xv 73, v ii 291.

With regard to interpretation of identical readings, many instances of greater or less variation from the usually accepted senses will be found. The obstinate cruxes of the play have been fully discussed, and, as a choice of evils, no ascertained difficulties have been avoided, though in cases of ambiguity where language is so freely wielded as in *Antony and Cleopatra*, it is a question whether a reader's cursory impressions are not less likely to mislead than laboured analyses. A particular aim has been to illustrate as far as possible from new sources, with acknowledgment of all illustrations—save sometimes those from Shakespeare—owed to their employment by others. In the critical apparatus, all material differences from the first folio text, including the re-arrangement of the lines, are recorded, and any corrections or variations worth noting in the later folios have been extracted from the collation in the Cambridge

Shakespeare This has also been used to determine the originators of emendations, but the editions and independent commentaries have been themselves examined

The composition of *Antony and Cleopatra* is assigned to 1607, or the early part of 1608, for which dates the external evidence is the second of the following entries¹ in the Stationers' Registers (see Arber's *Transcript*, III 167b) under date 20 May 1608

Edward Blount Entred for his copie vnder thandes of Sir George Buck knight and Master Warden Seton A booke called
The booke of PERICLES prynce of Tyre vj^d

Edward Blunt Entred also for his copie by the lyke Authoritie A booke Called ANTHONY and CLEOPATRA vj^d

Next year (1609) *Pericles* was published in quarto by another publisher, but the second entry either bore no fruit, or any resulting impression has disappeared. It is reasonably taken to refer to Shakespeare's play, which was registered by Master Blounte and Isaak Jaggard on 8 November 1623—in that case, for the second time—among 'Master William Shakspeers *Comedyes Histories, and Tragedyes* soe manie of the said Copies as are not formerly entred to other men, viz^t ' [Here follow sixteen plays under the several headings, the *Tragedies* being *Coriolanus*, *Timon of Athens*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Mackbeth*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline* (see Arber's *Transcript*, IV 69)] The play appeared in that year in the first folio, where it is placed between *Othello* and *Cymbeline*, and is consequently last but one in the book

If, however, what I now put forward is not merely matter of coincidence, 1608 may be ruled out entirely and 1606 be granted a possibility beside 1607. Daniel's *Cleopatra* appeared in 1594, in that year's edition of his *Delia*; it was reprinted with some deletions and modifications in the *Poeticall Essayes* of 1599, in the folio editions of *Workes*, 1601 and 1602, and again in *Certaine Small Workes Heretofore Devulged by Samuel Daniel*, in 1605. In the next edition of *Certaine Small Workes*, however, namely that of 1607, an altered text appeared, which was repeated in the issues of 1609 and 1611, and also by itself in 1611. The *verso* of the general title-page of 1607 declared the play to be 'newly altered', and the question is: what induced Daniel to reconstitute his play between 1605 and 1607? Was it merely due to re-reading Plutarch with a maturer eye, and a growing preference for dialogue as against relation, or had the author been stimulated by a new treatment of the story to improve his own version, and guided in some respects in so doing? There is at least

¹ † Probably 'blocking entries', see Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909), p. 78, and *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* (1920), pp. 26-52. [R]

a probability that a sudden remodelling of old work, once already textually revised, may be accounted for on the latter score

Dr Grosart, in his edition of *Daniel* (1885-6), drew attention to the additions of 1607 for the first time, as he thought, but Langbaine had long ago said—though apparently with muddling reference to the 1623 quarto ‘this later Copy infinitely differs from the former, and far exceeds it, the Language being not only corrected, but it having another advantage in the Opinion of a Modern Poet, (e) since that which is only dully recited in the first Edition, is in the last represented’ (*An Account of the Dramatick Poets*, 1691, p. 101) Dr Grosart printed the additions before his reproduction of the earlier version as it reappeared in 1623, after Daniel’s death, but without any hint of the comparison which I am suggesting I have verified his statements by examining the various editions

Cleopatra, especially as first written and first altered a few years later, is a stately rhymed tragedy after the Senecan model. It takes up the story of Cleopatra after Antony’s death, and sadly dilutes its tragic force by pursuit of moral rather than romantic themes, in reflection on their conduct and its reward from Cæsar by the traitors Rodon and Seleucus, and on the faults and fortunes of Egypt by the philosophers Philostratus and Arius. It has, here and there in the earlier version, resemblances more or less slight to passages in *Antony and Cleopatra*, of which, omitting such as are traceable to the common source in Plutarch, the chief may be noticed here. The numbers I assign to the lines quoted are those of Dr Grosart’s edition, which run consecutively throughout the play.

In Act I, l. 54, compare ‘I have both hands, and will, and I can die’ with iv. xv. 49 *post*, ‘My resolution and my hands I’ll trust’, also in ll. 69-70, ‘That I should passe whereas *Octavia* stands, To view my misery’, etc., the same dislike to submit to the gaze of her rival in Rome that Cleopatra expresses in iv. xv. 27-9, and v. ii. 54-5 *post*. In Act v, sc. ii, ll. 1475 *et seq*, Cleopatra is described as sitting in all her pomp

as if sh’ had wonne

Cæsar, and all the world beside, this day

Euen as she was when on thy cristall streames,

Clear *Cydnos*, she did shew what earth could shew, etc

Compare v. ii. 227-8 *post*, ‘I am again for Cydnus, To meet Mark Antony’, and *ibid*. 345-6 *post*, ‘As she would catch another Antony In her strong toil of grace’

Though, on the whole, I think Shakespeare had, as was natural, Daniel’s and other predecessors’ work before him, however small

‘(e) Mr. *Crown*’s Epistle to *Andromache*’

his use of it, such resemblances in thought, as, for instance, the effective retrospect to *Cydnus* here, might easily occur independently to writers of the same age exercising their genius on the same subject, and, if we take this view, their existence makes a little against the weight of any correspondences we may have to consider in the remodelled play. This, however, stands upon a different basis. It draws somewhat nearer to the contemporary drama by replacing relation and soliloquy to a great extent by dialogue, so that not only is the play more dramatic, but characters familiar to us in *Antony and Cleopatra* now play a greater part, viz Charmian and Iras, others, Dercetas and Diomedes, are employed for the first time, Gallus becomes an interlocutor where he was but mentioned. It introduces the incident of 'Dircetus' bringing Antony's sword to Cæsar (see v 1 *post*), and, by means of his relation, the story of the events preceding Antony's death, on the lines followed by Shakespeare in iv xii (latter part), xiii, xiv, xv *post*, though of course with the comparative brevity of a narration. This constitutes a new scene of Act I, and is a detail in which Daniel had not previously thought fit to follow the example of the Countess of Pembroke. Further the new scene contains certain noticeable expressions. The second line is, 'Will Antony yet struggle being undone?' and the second and third lines of Shakespeare's Act v *post*, on the same occasion

Being so frustrate, tell him, he mocks
The pauses that he makes

Again, 'Dircetus' says (l 4) 'His worke is ended *Anthony* hath done.' Compare *post*, iv xiv 35 'Unarm Eros, the long day's task is done.' 'Dircetus', describing Antony's last efforts with his forces, uses the phrase, 'Had brought them to their worke', a possible reminiscence of Antony's 'I'll bring you to't' in iv iv 34 *post*. Further—always remembering that I am not recording resemblances which may be due to Plutarch—there is a significant use of a similar conceit in both plays on the occasion of Antony's being drawn up into the monument compare Daniel's (p 8, Grosart)

When shee afresh rencwes
Her hold, and with r'inforced power doth straine,
And all the weight of her weake bodie laies,
Whose surcharg'd heart more than her body wayes

with iv xv 33-4 *post*

Our strength is all gone into heaviness,
That makes the weight

The rest of the alterations of the play furnish nothing very

material in the way of coincident thought, and remove some of the resemblances of the older version. The question rests on the parallels just given, the introduction of events from Plutarch treated also in certain scenes of *Antony and Cleopatra*, and the remodelling of the play in more dramatic form, and though this evidence is by no means overwhelming, so far as it goes it is consistent with a hypothesis that Daniel re-wrote his play because he had seen another treatment of the theme, namely, Shakespeare's, and just so much probability follows that we should finally exclude 1608 in considering the date of *Antony and Cleopatra*, and admit 1606 to competition with 1607. Unfortunately, the Stationers' Registers do not appear to contain any entry which would enable us to determine whether Daniel's altered text came early or late in the latter year.

The fact is slightly corroborative of Daniel's imitation that he is thought to have similarly profited by Shakespeare's *Richard II*, owing to changes made in the second edition of his *Civil Warres*, 1595.¹ His name is maliciously associated with Shakespeare's in *The Returne from Parnassus* (assigned to 1598 by Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, II), III 1 1015, *et seq.*, p. 57, in Macray's edition, and in the later play of the same name, acted 1601 or 1602, he is exhorted to use his own wit and 'scorne base imitation'.² I am, of course, not interpreting his revision of *Cleopatra* in any such way here.

Finally, in connection with the date of *Antony and Cleopatra*, some resemblances which occur in other plays are perhaps worth mentioning. In *Nobody and Somebody*, entered in the Stationers' Registers in 1606, and, though an older play, probably revised at that time (see Simpson, *School of Shakespeare*, I, p. 272, and Fleay, as before, under Heywood, No. 31), King Archigallo resembles Antony in a certain point.

There's *Elydure*

Your elder brother next unto the king
He plies his booke, when shall you see him trace
Lascivious *Archigallo* through the streets,
And fight with common hacksters hand to hand
To wrest from them their goods and dignities?³

¹ It should be observed that whether Daniel's second edition (dated, like the first, 1595) or Shakespeare's *Richard II* appeared first, is quite uncertain, and that *Henry IV*, 1596-7, probably owes some detail to Daniel, as Dr Moorman has shown: see his Introduction to that play in *The Warwick Shakespeare*. As regards *Cleopatra*, however, adoption in a late text of a more dramatic method and detail previously ignored suggests, at least, a new model.

² I II 244-6, ed Macray, 1886, p. 85.

³ LI 34-9 *School of Shakespeare*, I 278.

and in Barnabe Barnes's *The Devils Charter*, first played 2 February 1607, entered 16 October, and printed same year after being 'revised, corrected, and augmented', this passage occurs

He draweth out of his boxes aspiks
 Come out here now you *Cleopatraes* birds
 Fed fat and plump with proud *Egyptian* slime,
 Of seauen mouth'd *Nylus* but now turn'd leane
He putteth to either of their
breasts an Aspik

Take your repast vpon these Princely paps
 Now *Ptolamies* wife is highly magnified,
 Ensinging these faire princely twins their death,
 And you my louely boys competitors,
 With *Cleopatra* share in death and fate

I see their coulours chang and death sittes heauy
 On their fayre foreheads with his leaden mace
 My birds are gluttid with this sacrefice

He taketh of the Aspiks and put
teth them vp in his box

What now proud wormes? how tasts yon princes blood
 The slaves be plump and round, into your nest,
 Is there no token of the serpents draught,
 All cleere and safe well now faire boyes good-night ¹

A passage in Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambours*, which furnishes two important parallels with our text (see on iv xii 37, xiv 2-7 *post*) exists substantially in the first edition, which appeared in 1607. This play, in Mr Fleay's opinion, was written late in 1604,² and produced the next year.

The internal evidence for the date of composition is not thrown out of correspondence by the slight recession of date suggested. It depends on the complete change in metrical style approached through the plays since *Hamlet*, which deprives Shakespeare's blank verse of much music in its effort to become a more spacious continent of his multiplying thought, the increased percentage of lines in which the sense is carried on to the next without pause, and the consequent increase of stops within lines, the employment of the weak ending, prominent for the first time in *Macbeth* and now much more strikingly so, the increased use of the double or feminine end-

¹ See McKerrow's edition in *Materialen zur Kunde des alteren Englischen Dramas*, 1904, II 2546-69, p. [71]

² Chapman's latest editor, Mr T. M. Parrott, maintains this date, approximately, against appeals to Henslowe's *Diary* in support of 1598 for a first version. See his article in *Modern Language Review*, January 1908.

ing Dependence on elocution to make a pause within a line metrically equivalent to a syllable, or a long line musical, is frequent in this play, and there is a free disposition of accent which gives grip and strength at the cost of some ruggedness, but all this does but deceive the sense of space, ellipse and ambiguous phrase show that no relaxation of metrical restraints could accommodate the ideas and images demanding utterance. The theme of the play, ethically considered as the consequence of grave defect in a nature generously endowed with noble traits, has been compared with those of *Macbeth* and *Coriolanus*, between which it has taken its place on the different considerations already stated.

Shakespeare's debt to Plutarch, Amyot, and Sir Thomas North, through the medium of the last named and especially to him, has been displayed in its real extent and with fine enthusiasm by Mr Wyndham, in his introduction to the reprint of North's *Plutarch* in the Tudor Translations. It has been necessary here only to make it as readily traceable as possible, by appending full extracts from the life of Antonius, and by giving complete references to them throughout the notes, sometimes for whole scenes, sometimes for particular passages, as the case demanded. The space they leave at my disposal will be divided between a few not very orthodox impressions of *Antony and Cleopatra*, whose excuse for non-suppression must be that they have survived long concern with the play, and some account of the other English plays on the same subject.

Since Coleridge's famous criticism of *Antony and Cleopatra* in his *Notes and Lectures*, there has been no danger of the play's being under-rated, and the impression received from many examens in which this criticism is cited is that there is a tendency for its doubt to be ignored and its limitations obscured. Coleridge expressed a 'doubt' whether the *Antony and Cleopatra* is not, in all exhibitions of a giant power in its strength and vigour of maturity, a formidable rival of the *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*,¹ but even if we replace the doubt by an absolute certainty, there remains the fact that a special point of comparison is indicated, viz 'all exhibitions of a giant power in its strength and vigour of maturity'. It is in this respect only that comparison is possible with the other plays named by Coleridge,¹ for, in the first place, *Antony and Cleopatra* belongs to a type of play defective in construction and absorbing centre of interest. The Chronicle play has its compensations we see in

¹ Here, and perhaps again, I may seem to have conveyed and mismanaged a hint from an article on *Antony and Cleopatra*, of far wider scope than these impressions, in the *Quarterly Review* for April 1906, by Professor A. C. Bradley, but in these respects I set down 'mine own rudeness rudely' months previously, and owe homage, not acknowledgment.

Antony and Cleopatra vivid presentation of the earlier processes which lead to tragedy, set before us in a series of significant pictures, but historical fact is lopped and telescoped only so far as is indispensable to a stage-plot, and it does not in this case provide any rousing incident till the play is far advanced. Secondly, there is in the theme at its intensest, and the characters at their deepest, a defect of tragedy in comparison with that of the greater plays. The world-tragedy—admitting for the sake of argument Dr Brandes' contention that the play is really and intentionally 'the picture of a world-catastrophe'—is here too little insistently obvious, and depends too much for its effect on the constitution of a reader's mind, to surround the sufferers with a deeper gloom than their destiny can bestow. The magnanimity of Antony sets him above fate at last, and the death of Cleopatra is her triumph. We see these lovers hasten to reunion 'where souls do couch on flowers', there is what meeting for Othello and Desdemona?

O ill-starr'd wench!
Pale as thy smock! when we shall meet at compt,
This look of thine will hurl my soul from heaven
And fiends will snatch at it

The appalling situations of Macbeth or Othello, set between retrospect and prospect of horror, have no parallel here, and the despairs of Antony and Cleopatra are never as theirs: the profundities of tragic feeling which awe us in their words belong to an abyss of which the two who have been erected to rivalry with them know nothing. The utterance of the latter, for all its magnificence of poetry and pathos, is more conscious, and has in it something of the luxury of woe: it is of their own plane of enchantment, where 'all the haunt' is indeed theirs, it is not humanly heart-rending, nor language of despair fit for a Hall of Eblis.

An extraordinarily vivid presentment in Elizabethan terms of events and characters of the ancient world, with truth to life as its one restraining condition, *Antony and Cleopatra* is almost as far removed from the tragedies as it is from the decorous treatment of the same theme by the Senecan school of poets. The ethical value of that theme is considerable, and has its due weight. Events enforce it, and draw from Enobarbus witty sarcasms, from Antony many a bitter reflection on his own folly. But this is all: the riotous life of pleasure betrays its charm beside its cost, and the ultimate effects of all the moralist would condemn are moral and not immoral. There is a temporary 'diminution in our captain's brain' as a permanent one in his fortunes, but all that is great in him, his heart-

winning magnanimity in its various manifestations, is conspicuous as ever, and to this is now added the capacity for devotion and self-forgetfulness which he pitifully lacked before. It is absurd to shake our heads over Antony's love because, in the sharp reversal of the situation of himself and Cleopatra with respect to one another, he pays for the mortifications and distresses he had once inflicted on her, in frenzied doubts of a fidelity suspiciously unstable in our eyes as well as his. It must be tested by the unselfish devotion at the supreme hour which renders it incapable of differentiation from a virtuous passion and which (at first sight, at any rate) is in such striking contrast with Cleopatra's care for her own safety when love and pity should have exiled every other thought.

It is said that Shakespeare softened or suppressed Antony's worst traits as he found them in North, but his instanced cruelties and oppressions precede as much of the story as is retold in the play, and a dramatist must have gone out of his way to reveal in him anything beyond what we gather from his treacherous and cold-blooded treatment of Octavia. It is even questionable whether his good qualities are not more conspicuous in Shakespeare than in Plutarch only because of the diminished size of the canvas, but the former certainly gives them full dramatic effect, and from the first we are attracted by glimpses of the 'noble mind', 'the rare and singular gifts', with which Plutarch loves to 'soften to the heart' Antonius' story.

In this play, as in life, things extraneous to passion strengthen its hold for good or evil. In all probability, Antony must have returned to Cleopatra, but two factors besides infatuation are assigned, the 'holy cold and still conversation' of Octavia, and, very definitely, the supposed subjection of his genius to Cæsar's. Similarly, something *apparently* stronger than her love for Antony, yet, perhaps, connected with it—her royal determination to endure no bonds nor ignominy—seem to transform Cleopatra after his death and to allow that passion to gain depth and dignity under its powerful shelter. She deceives Cæsar with exultant cunning, and throughout, in her unswerving purpose, in the tolerance with which she suffers the garrulous clown, in the wonderful language of her exultation, free now from all suspicious notes, she exerts, in this dilation to a tragic figure, a fascination which some may have so far heard more about than felt.

To create his Cleopatra, Shakespeare to some extent forsook Plutarch. His Queen of Egypt is a figure of coarser fibre than that which moves in the prose narrative, even allowing for the strong lights of dialogue, and the arts of irritating perverseness employed

in I iii, where Cleopatra's conduct is not indicated in Plutarch, are of harder cast than 'the flickering enticements' with which, at a later time, the latter shows her seeking to keep Antony from Octavia, when she seemed to languish for love, contrived that Antony should often find her weeping, and then made show of hiding her tears, 'as if she were unwilling that he should see her weep' The original, with its subtlety preserved or augmented, is outgone in this draught of a type of the sex as well vehement and full-blooded as full of wiles and caprices, in whom qualities of brain and energetic life strike more than 'the courteous nature that tempered her words and deeds', and the gift of 'words marvelous pleasant' less than its reverse, but the wondrous charm for which the character in its earlier manifestations is praised so unstintedly, seems, in the main, to be unconsciously transferred from the incomparable descriptions of Enobarbus Of course it does not matter how the illusion is produced, except as a question for the critic, but Cleopatra, as self-revealed merely, does not, I venture to think, altogether justify the somewhat Lepidian 'kneel down, kneel down, and wonder' attitude of her admirers Johnson spoke of 'the feminine arts, some of which are too low, which distinguish Cleopatra', but an earlier and kinder critic has set the tune of comment, and the most fastidious almost outvie his 'vilest things become themselves in her'

If we apply to Cleopatra, and extend, her own metaphor for Antony, one way we look on majesty ('Isis else defend'), the other way is painted in hues that belong to Madam Cæsean's, but full front she is 'a very woman', and the question suggests itself did Shakespeare intend to leave her a problem for this excellent reason? or was he unable to make up his own mind about her? We may probably dismiss from consideration any idea of the play's being incomplete as it stands, or even of vagueness due to haste

We do not even know whether Cleopatra paltered with Cæsar after Actium, and there are ill-sounding notes in her protestations like the tuneless strings in a neglected instrument We undoubtedly receive an impression, which I hinted at just now, and which seems to go unquestioned, that Shakespeare intentionally represented Cleopatra less favourably than Plutarch in dealing with the motive of her death Such an impression goes for much, and the fewer the touches that produce it, the greater the writer's art, but even if the inquiry be narrowed to this last respect, it is worth making

In Plutarch, there is no direct mention of what is so strongly enforced in Shakespeare, and previously in Daniel, Cleopatra's dread of being made part of Cæsar's triumph in Rome He merely

states the fact that Cleopatra would not open the gates of the monument, and later, that Dolabella, as she had requested him, informed her that Cæsar would within three days send her away before him with her children. In a moving speech at Antony's tomb, she lays stress on her preservation by Cæsar only that he may triumph over Antony: there is no word of her own fear of ignominy, and she implores Antony to help her to foil this attempt to triumph over him, and to save her from the misery she endures in living without him. Before this, Plutarch has already told us of her self-disfigurement for grief and her attempt to make the resulting fever fatal by the aid of starvation, from which she was only deterred by Cæsar's threat of slaying her children—a threat as little permanently effective as in Shakespeare, however, for Dolabella's news determines her action in Plutarch as in him.

Shakespeare's omissions throw into strong relief his development of the mere hint of a second motive for self-destruction, but it is not absolutely certain that he meant us to infer that this second motive was the only efficient one, and that Cleopatra would gladly have survived. He inserts in the final scene with Antony (l. 49) and after his death (l. 79 *et seq.*) expressions on the part of Cleopatra of determination to die, which rest as much or more on the desire not to outlive Antony as on the unwillingness to endure ignominy. He gives us no right to judge this determination weakened, for it is her first thought when we meet her next, and she reveals then, and in the ensuing scene with Proculeius, no incipient hope of life with grace at Cæsar's hands. She has her dagger ready when she is seized, her thought of starvation leaps to her lips, and the fact that, on such an occasion, what she naturally bursts out with is her dread and hatred of the triumph, does not exclude the continuance of her unwillingness to outlive Antony. Cæsar's lies cause her no hesitation, as they might be expected to do if she really cared to survive, or was only moved by fear of disgrace: her directions are at once given to Charmian (v. ii. 191), and this *precedes* Dolabella's final and positive information of Cæsar's purpose. Here, if anywhere, there is token of omission or confusion. Dolabella had previously assured her that Cæsar would lead her in triumph, and he had not, as he now says, been either commanded or sworn to obtain confirmation of that intention.

We have now once more a recurrence to the theme of Cæsar's triumph, this time partly to stimulate Iras (as Antony himself had used it to induce Eros to kill him), and it would be the height of absurdity to underrate the force of the desire to escape it as a motive in Cleopatra. I am only endeavouring to ascertain how far

we are justified in regarding this, and this only, as what enabled her to 'be noble' to herself, and perhaps the best plea I can put in for her love is an appeal to the first appearance of these 'triumph' passages. It seems as if Shakespeare felt the necessity of accounting for Cleopatra's refusal to open the gates of the monument, and did so in a way which we interpret adversely to her, but let us recollect the lovers' last previous parting, and admit a doubt whether we should not, like Antony, 'weep for' our 'pardon'. In language as forcible as he could make it, which has not the remotest suggestion in Plutarch, Antony had at once declared his belief in Cleopatra's willingness to grace Cæsar's triumph, and the miserable part she would play in it. Such words would surely haunt her, and by her action and the echo of them now, even of the reference to Octavia—a feminine touch, which, if it were not an echo, would go far to overthrow my plea—she took the readiest way to prove their untruth, and to assure Antony that she would help no triumph over him,¹ nor let what he had so jealously engrossed suffer ignominy. If it were so, all was indeed—

well done, and fitting for a princess
Descended of so many royal kings

The familiar of these great figures, Enobarbus, a keen-sighted mocking observer, with lapses into tiresome forced wit, and exaltations into the finest poetry, proves to have understood every one but himself, and knows neither the strength of the ties that bind him to Antony, nor his risk of remorse, nor his inability to bear it. With him, too, there is something extraneous that helps to determine his fate: we must add to remorse the small favour shown to master-leavers by Cæsar, neither so honourable nor adequate a help as the ague which carries him off in Plutarch. Cæsar himself, though cold and hard in contrast with his generous rival, is not heartless. The generous apostrophe to Antony into which he suddenly breaks in I. iv, the warning appeal in III. ii, beginning 'Most noble Antony, Let not the piece of virtue', etc., forbid our taking this view, and above all the pathos worthy of mighty rivals, lords of the world, in his lament

O Antony!
I have followed thee to this, but we do lance
Diseases in our bodies. I must perforce
Have shown to thee such a declining day,

¹ There is some significance in the language of the various passages. To Antony, she will not brooch Cæsar's triumph, to Proculeius and Iras later, it is indignities she dwells upon.

Or look on thine we could not stall together
In the whole world

Finally, I retain some impression that *Antony and Cleopatra* was rather hastily written, with as much advantageous as injurious result if this had anything to do with the daring language and treatment, the 'happy valiancy' that Coleridge admired. Haste may have caused some peculiarities of construction, and caused the ready utilization of similar thoughts and illustrations when they cropped up in parallel cases: the number of reminiscences in *Antony and Cleopatra* has been noted and is sometimes put down to profound art. By supposing haste also, we may account for the occasional occurrence of common place exaggeration.

The English plays on the same subject would almost provide material for a study of the forms of English tragedy. The Countess of Pembroke translated Garnier's *Marc-Antoine*, as *The Tragedie of Antonie*, into a monotonous blank verse, with here and there a few eloquent lines (sometimes affording illustrations for our text), and, in the choruses, short measures, often intricately rhymed, which served as models for Daniel in his *Cleopatra*, 1594. This latter play—which occupied me in the beginning of this introduction—is occasionally placed first owing to the date of impress of *Antonie* (1595), but *Antonie* was finished 'At Ramsbury 26 of November 1590', and was the cause, according to Daniel's dedication, of his digression from *Delia's* unkindness to a less absorbing subject. Till Shakespeare rescued it, the theme remained in the possession of the classical school. Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, tells us in his life of Sidney,¹ that his tragedies 'were in their first creation three, Whereof Antonie and Cleopatra, according to their irregular passions, in forsaking empire to follow sensuality, were sacrificed in the fire. The executioner the author him selfe'. It appears that it did not thus regretfully perish as being inferior to his other plays, but owing to 'Many members in that creature—by the opinion of those few eyes which saw it—having some childish wantonness in them, apt enough to be construed or strained to a personating of vices in the present governors and government'.

Lord Brooke was followed by Samuel Brandon, whose work has survived and is named for re-issue in the admirable series edited by Professor Bang, of Louvain, *Materialen zur Kunde des alteren Englischen Dramas*. I have not seen this Senecan play, *The Virtuous Octavia*, 1598, but Mr Craig has kindly examined for me the copy in the Dyce Library at South Kensington, and has come to the conclusion, as I have done with regard to the other early plays, that

Shakespeare had cast an eye over his predecessor's work. There are two or three expressions recalling the like in other plays of Shakespeare, and for *Antony and Cleopatra*, putting aside as before coincidences traceable to Plutarch, there is a possible hint for Cæsar's description of Octavia's prevented welcome in an account of her reception at Athens, where, says 'Geminus (a Captaine)'

Long before we could approach the gates
Of that faire city, we encountered were
With people of all ages and estates,
Who in their handes did boughes of laurel bear,
Some on their knees with joy and wonder filled,
Salute the empress, some rich gifts present,
Some strew'd the way with flowers and some distill'd
Their sweet perfumes along the fieldes we went
Their loud applauses pierced the very skies,
Extoll'd Octavia past the reach of fame,
And silent Echo, waken'd with their cries,
Taught all the neighbour hills to blesse her name

The play is thus—save, of course, in its choruses—written in quatrains, like Daniel's *Cleopatra*. The scene is entirely in Rome, but the action (licentiously for such a play) covers a far longer period than that of the latter, and its dilutions promise to be less dry, two virtuous ladies and a wanton, for example, replacing Daniel's philosophers, and discussing constancy and variety in love. One of the former, in a later dialogue, excuses Antony's conduct on the ground of an affinity between him and Cleopatra as inevitable as that of the loadstone for iron.

After Shakespeare, Fletcher tried his hand on the delineation of Cleopatra, with some slight debt to him, but Cleopatra in 'the salad days' of her intrigue with Cæsar, and in the prologue to his play, *The False One* (circa 1620, according to Fleay), he pleads this as an excuse for meddling with the theme. The first to challenge comparison upon the same ground was Thomas May, the translator of Lucan, for whom, as a historical poet, much was said by Headley, and might be repeated. His *Cleopatra* was acted in 1626, printed in 1639, and its scheme is interesting, as coming between Shakespeare and Dryden, and showing how a learned and conscientious Caroline poet stood towards Elizabethan drama. May does not quite dismiss the comic element: he smooths out the actual representation of battle and sea-fight, but his time is partly co-extensive with Shakespeare's, as he takes up the theme before the Actium disaster. Otherwise, his play disappoints, and its language irritates by balking expectation of just the little better that makes

all the difference But I except the *Thyreus* scene,¹ in which his

¹ The scene is fine enough and inaccessible enough for rescue for comparison here

An Hands on that *Thyreus* there, to prison with him

Thy To prison!

Ant Yes, away with him I say

Thy *Cæsar* would not have us'd your messenger
So ill

An Thou wert no messenger to me

Cle For my sake dearest Lord

An O for your sake?

I cry you mercy Lady, bear him hence

[*Exit Thyreus*]

I had forgot that *Thyreus* was your servant

But what strange act should he perform for you?

Is it to help you to a happier friend?

Cle Can you suspect it? was my truest love

So ill bestow'd? Can he, for whose dear sake

A Queen so highly born as I prefer'd

Love before fame, and fondly did neglect

All names of honour when false *Fulvia*,

And proud *Octavia* had the name of wives,

Requite me thus? ungrateful *Anthony*

For now the fury of a wronged love

Justly provokes my speech

Ant Oh *Cleopatra*,

It is not *Thyreus* but this heart of mine

That suffers now, deep wounded with the thought

Of thy inconstancie, did Fortune leave

One only comfort to my wretched state

And what a false one? for what conference

Couldst thou so oft, and in such privacie

With *Cæsar's* servant hold, if true to me?

Which with the rack I could enforce from him

But that I scorn to do

Cle You do not scorn

To wrong with base unworthie jealousies

A faithfull heart but if you think me false

Heer sheath your sword make me the subject rather

Of manly rage then childish jealousie

It is a nobler crime, and fitter farre

For you to act, easier for me to suffer

For live suspected I nor can nor will

The lovely *Aspe*, which I with care have kept

And was intended a preservative

'Gainst *Cæsar's* crueltie, I now must use

Against *Antonius* basenesse a worse fo

Than *Cæsar* is farewell, till death approve

That I was true, and you unjust in love

Ant Stay *Cleopatra*, dearest Love, forgive me

Let not so small a winde have power to shake

A love so grown as ours I did not think

That thou wert false my heart gave no consent

usually colourless Antony achieves a kind of despairing pathos. His Cleopatra is false a while, but repents when she finds Cæsar proof against her charms.

The rhymed heroic play now claimed the subject. Sir Charles Sedley's *Antony and Cleopatra* was acted at the Duke's Theatre, with Betterton as Antony, in 1676 or 1677, and printed in the latter year, reappearing in 1702 as *Beauty the Conqueror* or *The Death of Marc Antony*. Sir Walter Scott (Dryden's *Works*, 1808, v. 293) and Dr A. W. Ward, in his *History of English Dramatic Literature*, treat it with severity, but it cannot be accused of rant, and takes its place among the heroic plays in which tragedy turns on manlike aims and passions rather than on strained points of honour. The story is taken up after Actium, the number of actors reduced, Cleopatra refined, and comedy expelled, while the plot is complicated by new loves, those of Mæcenas for Octavia, of Photinus, the ambitious traitor of the piece, for Iras, of Thyreus for Cleopatra. Antony and Cleopatra are, according to the kind, heroic and faithful lovers, and Canidius and other Romans prefer death to faithlessness or surrender. The play is full of life and bustle, combat and siege, and the whole can appeal, if we forget Shakespeare, who influences it in a general way.

In the meantime, or possibly owing to Sedley's example, the subject attracted the former champion of the heroic play. Dryden's *All for Love* was acted and printed in 1678. In it he abandoned rhyme and restored to the drama the art of writing good blank verse, this, too, without reproducing that of any previous writer or coming under the spell of Milton. The figures he drew deserve their own observance, but, thanks to critics less generous than himself, are seen only forlornly following Cæsar's triumph.

In *All for Love*, a close observance of the unities and restriction to few characters does not prevent the contrivance of an interesting series of events, to the development of which every scene contributes. The plot and characters show Dryden still influenced to some extent by the love and honour scheme of the heroic play *Cleopatra*, save that she would sooner see her hero ruined with her than secure without her, is fidelity itself, and rejects Cæsar's ample offers, Antony is torn either way by the truth of Cleopatra and the generosity of Octavia. Love triumphs almost by accident, when jealousy and a natural collapse of Octavia's patience is vigorously

To what my tongue so rashly uttered
Nor could I have outliv'd so sad a thought
Let *Thyreus* be releast, and sent to *Cæsar*

marshalled to its aid *All for Love* certainly contains some imitation and reminiscence of *Antony and Cleopatra*, but Dryden said truly that he had not copied his author servilely, and his play can be read and enjoyed as a study in a different manner, for its different conception of character, and its fine poetry, without the least compulsory reference to an all-belittling standard

In preparing this edition I have been without the help of any on the same or a greater scale, but my obligations are many, as appears in the notes, and to the eighteenth-century editors of course incalculable I owe to Mr Craig, the general editor of this Shakespeare, the most cordial thanks for help and encouragement throughout, and Mr Henry Cuninghame, the editor of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* in the same series, obliged me by investigating some material points at the British Museum From my friend Mr J Roy Coventry I had a useful loan of some of the early critical editions, and from Mr T Harkness Graham, Assistant Librarian in the University of Liverpool, a most generous gift of time and scrupulous care in reading and correcting the whole of the proofs, and in verifying the numerous references, which will owe much of their exactness to him

The following summarizes Mr Daniel's Time-Analysis of the play twelve days are represented on the stage with intervals after the first, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and ninth, the historic time being about ten years, 40 to 30 B C

Day I	I 1-IV
„ 2	I V, II 1-III
„ 3	II IV
„ 4	II V-VII
„ 5	III 1, II, III
„ 6	III IV, V
„ 7	III VI
„ 8	III VII
„ 9	III VIII-X
„ 10	III XI-XIII, IV 1-III
„ 11	IV IV-IX
„ 12	IV X-XV, V 1, II

[R H C]

† I have little to add to this introduction Three judgements on the play and the characters deserve to have attention drawn to them Bradley's article in the *Quarterly*, at which Case glances on p xxix, was later republished in his *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (1909) It is probably the finest piece of concentrated criticism which even this great critic achieved (I say 'great critic' because, though his

reputation is at the moment suffering from a natural, and perhaps salutary, reaction, I cannot believe that his stature can long remain obscured.) In 1944 Lord David Cecil published a lecture on *Antony and Cleopatra* in which he presents the interest as 'largely political' Shakespeare, he thinks, 'conceived his play as a piece of history', and though there is a single presiding theme, 'this theme is not love, it is success'. He must find the play much duller than most of us do, but so odd a judgement, coming from a usually sane and sensitive critic, has at least the merit of making one think. Lastly, there is Dover Wilson's introduction to the play in the *New Shakespeare*. It exhibits, I think, a generous error to which he is liable: if he admires a character he cannot bear it to be less than almost wholly admirable, and this predisposition colours his judgement of both Antony and Cleopatra. But in the course of it he performs two signal services. The first is to draw attention to Dr Tarn's presentation of Cleopatra in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. x, ch. 2. The other is to discuss the Seleucus scene, and emphasize the interpretation of it which I am sure is the right one, but which, since Stahr is now little read, and in any case was not writing about Shakespeare's play but about Plutarch's Cleopatra, is apt to escape the modern reader and producer. Stahr¹ pointed out that Plutarch says, at the end of the account of Cæsar's interview with Cleopatra, 'and so he took his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but indeed he was deceived himself' (North's translation), and North underlines this and makes the design explicit, by a marginal comment, 'Cleopatra finely deceiveth Octavius Cæsar as though she desired to live' (italics mine). That is to say, the whole scene with Seleucus is a put-up job, possibly even rehearsed beforehand. The easiest way of convincing Cæsar that she desires to live is to be exposed as having retained, and omitted from her declaration, half her fortune, to support not only life, but life in something like her former state.

This interpretation has two dramatic advantages. It prevents Cleopatra's assault on Seleucus being no more than an undignified repetition of the earlier scene with the messenger—a drop in tone which at this point of the play is hardly tolerable. And it gives us the pleasure of watching Cæsar out-played, not only walking headlong into the trap but (in ll. 183–8) thinking himself clever as he does so, so that Cleopatra's 'My master, and my lord' can carry its full charge of irony, since she knows that he is already the ass, unpolicied. The only trouble about the interpretation is whether it can be made plain to the audience, since if it cannot it is not what Shake-

¹ A. Stahr, *Cleopatra* (1864), and see Furness, *Variorum* edition, pp. xiii–xiv.

speare the practical playwright intended But I think it can be done ¹ In the first place, the more quick-witted of the audience will wonder why Cleopatra brings in Seleucus at all—and it is her doing, not Cæsar's, that he is introduced If Cæsar will not take her own word for her 'brief' he is not likely to take that of a subordinate official, presumably under her thumb 'Hullo,' says the suspicious spectator, 'there is more here than meets the eye' But I think the vital point is the way in which the actress playing Cleopatra delivers the words 'Speak the truth, Seleucus' They are his cue After that both he and Cleopatra, by slight exaggeration, he of his fears and she of her tantrums and her humiliation, indicate that they are playing a game

But if the interpretation is right in itself, I think that in the application of it Dover Wilson overplays his hand He is so anxious to establish Cleopatra's unswerving nobility, to show that her resolution to follow Antony at once never wavered, that he takes this interpretation of the Seleucus scene as proof positive of the unwavering resolution, and he also neglects an awkward interval and the conversation with Proculeius Now that conversation, though it is possible to get round it, cannot safely be neglected, and the Seleucus scene turns out, on examination, to be irrelevant to the main issue No one denies that Cleopatra contemplates suicide as at least a possibility Even if she is only going to be driven to it as a last resort, still she will, when convinced of its necessity, need time for its achievement, and this time, she hopes, the scene with Seleucus will provide If she finds that she can make satisfactory terms, little will have been lost, if she cannot, everything will have been gained That is to say, the 'put-up-job' interpretation of the Seleucus scene fits as neatly and as dramatically into either reading of Cleopatra's state of mind as into the other

It is perhaps worth while examining for a moment the stages in Cleopatra's progress towards suicide In the first place, at any time we like anterior to the climax of the play, she has pursued infinite conclusions of easy ways to die In a crisis, therefore, her thoughts will not be exercised by the mechanics of suicide, but only by its necessity or desirability, and we guess that the compulsion will need to be strong that drives her to it Under the immediate shock of Antony's death she rises to a mood of exaltation, the odds is gone, the world is a dull place, we have no friend but resolution and the briefest end, so let us act after the high Roman fashion, rush into the secret house of death and make death proud to take us

¹ Dover Wilson says 'the episode can readily be played so as to bring it out to the audience', but makes no attempt to show how

There is no mistake about that. But is it cynical to suggest that even here she does not exactly 'rush' into the house of death, as Antony did or tried to do, but gains time even from her own resolution on the grounds of burying Antony? There is then an interval, during which we have no clue to her thoughts except that she sends the 'poor Egyptian' to Cæsar to enquire his 'intents'. When next we see her (v 11) she is again contemplating suicide, though in more philosophic fashion. She then has an interview with Proculeius, in which she expresses submission, states her terms, and suggests an interview with Cæsar. When captured by the guard she attempts suicide, and gives as reason for the attempt the hateful prospect of Cæsar's triumph—not a word of Antony. Her last message now to Cæsar is 'I would die'. Left alone with Dolabella she pays tribute to Antony, and having got Dolabella well-tempered she comes out with the direct question, 'Know you what Cæsar means to do with me?' and forces an answer from him. She has no time to comment on it before Cæsar enters. She plays her scene with Cæsar and Seleucus, and after Cæsar has gone despatches Charmian, presumably to arrange for the introduction of the asps. While Charmian is away she receives from Dolabella further confirmation of Cæsar's intentions and paints for herself and Iras a picture of the degrading circumstances of Cæsar's intended triumph. From the moment of Charmian's return not only is her 'resolution' indeed 'placed' and she 'marble-constant' but Antony at last is the expressed motive for the resolution. She is again for Cydnus to meet him, she claims him as her husband, and she will not, if she can help it, let Iras reach him first.

That, I think, is a fair statement of what the text shows us. Nothing can detract from Cleopatra's royal splendour at the end, but we should not allow our eyes to be so dazzled by it that we cannot examine what happens, or does not happen, earlier. There is, first, the short conversation with Proculeius before her capture. This reads to me like an honest attempt at negotiation. I admit that it may be construed as a dishonest playing for time, but if her resolution had been constant the time should not have needed to be played for. Far more crucial than the interview with Proculeius is the interval between the end of iv xv and the opening of v 11, an interval from which the supporters of the unwavering purpose resolutely avert their eyes, and do their best to avert the eyes of their readers. Dover Wilson, for example, says 'She announces it [the resolution] at the end of 4 15 immediately after Antony's own death, reiterates it at the opening of 5 2, and is only forced to postpone it by her unexpected capture and the interview with Cæsar.'

'Only forced to postpone it' seems to me a piece of clever but somewhat disingenuous special pleading. It is true *of the moment*, but what has Cleopatra been doing with the interval before this moment? There is as yet, so far as we know, no guard through whom the bearer of the asps has to be brought in, and so nothing in the world to prevent her arranging for his arrival when she chooses. I think that after her first moment of exaltation she would make terms with Cæsar if she could make her own, and is brought back to her original resolution only by her later conviction of Cæsar's intentions.

I have laboured the point only because I think that Shakespeare's portrayal of Cleopatra at the end of the play is far more subtly penetrating, and more unsparing, than some of his critics would like it to be.

What little else I have to say, particularly about the 'echoes' of which the play is so full, and which Case dismisses rather summarily on p. xxxiv, I have said some fifteen years ago.¹ And since the re-writing, merely for the sake of re-writing, of something which, whether well or ill said, was at least as clear as the writer could make it, is an unprofitable business, I am, by the courtesy of Messrs J. M. Dent & Sons, repeating it, with a few minor modifications.

To read this play is like watching a great tragic actor playing, as it were for his amusement and relaxation, a lighter part that is very far inside his compass. There is no carelessness about it, every touch is as perfect as imagination and long-trained technique can make it, but the perfection is achieved with a felicity of ease which is enthralling.

In two ways the play is sharply differentiated from the 'four great' tragedies. In the first place it is a love tragedy. Shakespeare opened his tragic career (if we may not unreasonably leave *Titus* out of the reckoning) with *Romeo and Juliet*, and he closed it (if again we may omit *Coriolanus* as being of a somewhat different order of play) with *Antony and Cleopatra*. These are both love tragedies, the one of youth, the other of maturity, and the fact that only twelve or thirteen years divide them shows the bitter rapidity of the maturing. In the second place we are left at the end of *Antony and Cleopatra* with less sense of waste than at the end of any of the others, not excepting *Romeo and Juliet*. When Antony says 'the nobleness of life is to do thus' we know that for himself, and perhaps also for Cleopatra, he is stating the mere truth, but unless his values were wrong it would not be the truth. Their passion ennobles them as nothing

¹ *Shakespeare's Plays, a Commentary* (Dent, 1936)

else ever has or ever could, but also as, if they were themselves nobler, it would not. The world loses little by their passing, and indeed we know that for the world it is better that the course of the Roman State should on, cracking their link asunder. Finally the play has little dramatic tension, none of the complication followed by explication of plot which marks the others.

But all this is not to say that Shakespeare tried to write a tragedy like *Othello* or *Lear* and failed. He tried to write a drama of a different order, and royally succeeded. The different order may be also an inferior order, but there is no question about the success. The play is a brilliant *tour de force*, perhaps Shakespeare's high-water-mark of sheer technical brilliance. He is handling recalcitrant material. The story of Antony and Cleopatra as narrated by Plutarch or elsewhere, is not in its essence dramatic at all. There is no proper forward progress, and so no plot, there is merely a series of oscillations on the part of Antony. Under various influences—a weak loyalty to Octavia, a rather stronger loyalty to Rome, and, by far the strongest, the love of being a great fighting general and leading to victory his adoring troops—Antony swings like a compass needle, but he always comes to rest again pointing to the inevitable north. And not only is this story not essentially dramatic, but it is in danger of being a trifle sordid. The spectacle of a man of at least considerable qualities wasting them in an infatuation is not an ennobling spectacle, certainly not a tragic one. If this subject is to be lifted to any sort of greatness, something must be added to it, and Shakespeare met the difficulty in the only way in which it could be met (and which Dryden missed realizing) by giving to Antony a greatness other than that of his character. We must be made to feel him as a man whose fate matters to the world, to the course of history from then till now, we must ourselves stand under the arch of the ranged empire, we must not only be *told* that he is the triple pillar of the world, we must *see* him so, or we care little whether or not he is transformed into a strumpet's fool, but show him to us as the great triumvir, in consultation with Octavius and the slight, unmeritable Lepidus, and we realize that his fall may cause the world to totter. And so Shakespeare neglects the unities, and hurries us about in space and time (bringing in, for example, stray captains from Syria) so that we feel the surge of great events, and Antony's greatness among them, as determined things hold their way to destiny. And the greater, even in this historical sense, that Antony can be made, the greater, by a natural, if illogical, process, do we feel to be the woman who so enslaves him, and, moving further round the same circle, the greater that

Cleopatra becomes the less do we experience either wonder or distress at Antony's subjugation

On the two main characters opinions have differed widely, as was indeed to be expected, human nature being what it is. A critic who sees mainly one side of Antony finds a man 'of the most noble and high spirit, capable at times of a thoroughly soldier-like life, and full of kind and generous feelings' That is well said, and is true. Another, with his eyes rather on Antony's morals than his soldier-ship, sees that he is 'dissolute and voluptuous, and Cleopatra's depravity is congenial to his nature', that is also true, except that depravity is hardly the right word, and that it is only to one side of his nature that the 'depravity' appeals. A third gives himself away by announcing that 'the passion of Antony for Cleopatra is too obviously spurious to command our sympathy' (!) A fourth sees well round the subject from its various angles. 'Antony appears as the soldier and the voluptuary, swayed alternately by love, by regret, by ambition, at one moment the great ruler of the divided world, at the next flinging his future away at the dictation of a passionate caprice.' That I think is both justly and clearly said, and leaves little to add. Antony has a magnificent virility about him, to which both men and women react, but he is a creature of impulse, he has no eye for the stars, and cannot steer a course, he wants what he wants strongly, and he wants it immediately, he is generous, and even his faults are on the grand scale, he can descend to folly, but never to meanness.

Cleopatra gravels the critics of later ages as completely as she did those of her own. She is 'a brilliant antithesis' (whatever that may mean), 'a compound of contradictions', or (perhaps the best example of the meaningless verbiage of befuddled bewilderment) 'this glorious riddle, whose dazzling complexity continually mocks and eludes us'. She is often described as 'the courtesan of genius', but to take that phrase in isolation is fair neither to Cleopatra nor to the penetrating criticism from which it is isolated. 'Cleopatra is the greatest of the enchantresses. She has wit, grace, humour, the intoxication of sex breathes from her, she unites the passion of a great temperament with the fathomless coquetry of a courtesan of genius. It is this magnificence which invests Cleopatra's criminality with a kind of sublimity, so vast is the scale of her being, and so tremendous the force of her passions.' That also, I think, is just. It is easy to miss the cutting and balanced precision of Shakespeare's delineation of Cleopatra. If only we will hear, it is as though we were members of a jury, listening to the summing-up of the most dispassionate and brilliant of judges. When once we have read the

play it is hard not to reflect back upon the Cleopatra of the first four acts the light and colour of the Cleopatra of the last. In the last act she is the great queen, and is indeed fire and air, no doubt she would have made terms with Cæsar if she could have made her own, but, seeing that she cannot, she will follow Antony, and if she is to die, she will die indeed painlessly, but she will do it after the high Roman fashion, and Death would be a poor creature if he was not proud to take her. But if our eyes are not dazzled by this reflection we shall recognize that it would be hard to find anywhere in literature a more unsparing picture of the professional courtesan than Shakespeare's picture of Cleopatra in the first four acts. Her aim indeed is not ignoble, she is genuinely, and perhaps for the first time in her life, in love, Antony at last realizes her ideal, but the methods by which she achieves her aim and holds him are those of the past-mistress in her ancient art, learnt and perfected to the last finesse of technique in years in which she hung the scalps of Cæsar and Pompey, amongst others, at her belt. The bafflement of the critics, or some of them, about her seems to depend on a confusion of complexity with variety. She is infinitely varied, but not in the least complex, she is as single-minded in pursuit of her aim as Lady Macbeth in pursuit of hers, and all the quick shifts of temper are little more than part of her brilliant technique. Perhaps in the end the best description of her is Enobarbus' simple 'a wonderful piece of work' That at least avoids any idle questionings as to the morality or immorality of the love of Antony and Cleopatra.

For, unless we suffer from a kind of moral myopia, we are little troubled as we read, and even less as we see, by questions of worthiness or unworthiness, still less of morality and immorality. We have been transported to a world in which such disputes seem to lose their meaning. Admittedly it is far from the noblest kind of world, as the two main figures are far from human nature at its noblest. But, being what they are, they are by their mutual passion lifted to the highest pitch to which they are capable of soaring. It is the merest fatuity of moralizing to deny the name of 'love' to their passion, and write it off as 'mere lust'. No doubt it is not the highest kind of love, it is completely an *égoïsme à deux*, and has no power to inspire to anything outside itself, but it has in it something that should be an element in the highest kind of love, and at least it is the passion of human beings and not of animals, of the spirit as well as of the body. It was not by her beauty (of which by all accounts the gods had not been lavish) but by her superb vitality that Cleopatra took Antony captive and held him.

And it is by that same vitality that she takes us captive also. We

may attempt to analyse the play, to apply critical criteria to it, to examine the characters, and so on, and no doubt we are right to do so, and by so doing help our appreciation of the play. But in the end these intellectual exercises and their results drift down the wind like the idle thistledown that for this play they are, we know in our hearts that what in this play Shakespeare has to offer us is a thrill, a quickening of the pulses, a brief experience in a region where there is an unimagined vividness of life, and we surrender, with Antony, if anything so vitalizing can be called surrender, to the 'strong toil of grace'

Octavius is an unattractive figure, but one worth study, not so much for himself as because he draws our wandering attention to a noticeable feature of the play. In the first three acts, by touch on subtle touch, the relentless power of Rome is forced on our sub-conscious notice. We are made to feel that it is something against whose ineluctable march no individuals, however great, can for one moment stand. Octavius, like the equally unattractive Aeneas, is the typical Roman, and at the end he, the 'cold Cæsar', is more than himself: he is Rome, looking down, with a just and not unsympathetic estimation, on the 'pair so famous' over whom her chariot wheels have rolled.

When all is said, the peculiar glory of this play is not in its dramatic quality at all. It is in its poetry. It is full, to begin with, of phrases in Shakespeare's best later manner, where the whole force depends on the use of a word, or a juxtaposition of words, which would startle us if we were not aware of their inevitable rightness before we have time to be startled. For example

the odds is gone,
And there is nothing left remarkable
Beneath the visiting moon (iv xv 66)

Again, it is full of echoes, like

Ant Unarm, Eros, the long day's task is done,
And we must sleep (iv xiv 35)

Iras Finish, good lady, the bright day is done,
And we are for the dark (v ii 192)

Or

Ant I will be
A bridegroom in my death, and run into 't
As to a lover's bed (iv xiv 99)

Cleo The stroke of death is as a lover's pinch,
Which hurts, and is desir'd (v ii 294)

Or

Cleo And when thou hast done this chare, I'll give thee leave
To play till doomsday (v ii 230)

Char Your crown's awry,
I'll mend it, and then play (v ii 317)

Or the triple chime on 'royal' in the last scene, where Shakespeare is stressing Cleopatra the queen

Char Downy windows, close,
And golden Phoebus, never be beheld
Of eyes again so royal! (v ii 315)

Char It is well done, and fitting for a princess
Descended of so many royal kings (v ii 325)

Cæs Bravest at the last
She leuell'd at our purposes, and being royal
Took her own way (v ii 333)

Finally, we have here beyond question Shakespeare's topmost achievement in dramatic poetry, that kind of poetry which apart from its context is little remarkable, but in its dramatic setting is indefinably moving. The earlier plays are full of pure lyric poetry which is quite irrelevant to the action of the play, and not infrequently even out of character for the person who speaks it, and even down to the end of Shakespeare's dramatic career, down to *The Tempest*, with its cloud-capped towers, there will occur passages which can be lifted with little loss from their contexts. But in this play, with the sole exception of the description of Cleopatra's barge, most incongruously put into the mouth of the prosaically, however penetratingly, common-sensical Enobarbus, there is hardly a line which is not in character, and perhaps no considerable memorable passage which can stand by itself, none that can be excerpted, without losing half its force, while there is passage after passage, line after line, of which the force in its setting is electric. To take two examples only

I am dying, Egypt, dying (iv xv 41)

Four (or three) very ordinary words, and a proper name, as they stand prosaic enough, but spoken by the dying Antony, to his royal lover, his serpent of old Nile, they are potent and poignant magic. Or again

Dost thou not see my baby at my breast,
That sucks the nurse asleep? (v ii 308)

Write that for its natural context, the description, let us say, of a happy and carefree mother, and it is a piece of quiet competence

that no one will think of twice Put those same words in the mouth of the great queen, standing in her full and final majesty, robed and crowned for the stroke of her last fatal lover, with the asp at the breast that had suckled her children, and the world catches its breath [R]

References to passages in other plays of Shakespeare's are to the single volume Oxford edition (ed W J Craig)

For the other writers chiefly referred to the following list of editions may be useful In selecting the editions I have been guided not only by intrinsic excellence but in part by considerations of accessibility and ease of reference Some otherwise admirable editions have no line-numbering, and it is a vexatious business to try to locate a brief passage with nothing but act and scene to help one

Beaumont and Fletcher	Variorum edition (Bell & Bullen, 1904-12) so far as available, for other plays the Glover-Waller edn (C U P 1905-12)
Chapman	Plays, ed Parrott (Routledge, 1910), Poems, ed Shepherd (Chatto & Windus, 1875)
'Doubtful' plays	<i>Shakespeare Apocrypha</i> , ed Tucker Brooke (Clarendon Press, 1908)
<i>Gammer Gurton's Needle</i>	<i>Representative English Comedies</i> , ed C M Gayley (Macmillan Co, New York, 1903)
Jonson	ed Herford and Simpson (Clarendon Press, 1925-52)
Kyd	ed Boas (Clarendon Press, 1901)
Lyly	ed Warwick Bond (Clarendon Press, 1902)
Marlowe	ed Tucker Brooke (Clarendon Press, 1910)
Marston	ed Bullen (Nimmo, 1887)
Middleton	ed Bullen (Nimmo, 1885-6)
Nashe	ed McKerrow (Clarendon Press, 1905-12)
Peele	ed Bullen (Nimmo, 1888)
<i>Ralph Roister Doister</i>	as for <i>Gammer Gurton's Needle</i>
Webster	ed F L Lucas (Chatto & Windus, 1927)

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ¹

ANTONY,	}	<i>triumvirs</i>
OCTAVIUS CÆSAR,		
LEPIDUS,		
SEXTUS POMPEIUS		
DOMITIUS ENOBARBUS,	}	<i>friends of Antony</i>
VENTIDIUS,		
EROS,		
SCARUS,		
DECRETAS		
DEMETRIUS,		
PHILO,		
MÆCENAS,	}	<i>friends of Cæsar</i>
AGRIPPA,		
DOLABELLA,		
PROCULEIUS,		
THIDIAS,		
GALLUS,		
MENAS,	}	<i>friends of Pompey</i>
MENECRATES,		
VARRIUS,		
TARUS, lieutenant-general to Cæsar		
CANIDIUS, lieutenant-general to Antony		
SILIUS, an officer in Ventidius' army		
A 'schoolmaster' acting as ambassador from Antony to Cæsar		
ALEXAS,	}	<i>attendants on Cleopatra</i>
MARDIAN, a eunuch,		
DIOMEDES,		
SELEUCUS, treasurer to Cleopatra		
A soothsayer		
A Clown		
CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt		
OCTAVIA, Cæsar's sister		
CHARMIAN,	}	<i>attendants on Cleopatra</i>
IRAS,		

Officers, Soldiers, Messengers, and other attendants

SCENE *In several parts of the Roman empire*

¹ There is no list of *dramatis personæ* in F. It is first given (more or less) by Rowe, and expanded and emended by later editors. For Decretas and Thidias, instead of the more usual Dercetas and Thyreus, see notes on iv. xiv. 104 S D and iii. xii. 31 respectively.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

ACT I

SCENE I —[*Alexandria A room in Cleopatra's palace*]

Enter DEMETRIUS and PHILO

Phi Nay, but this dotage of our general's
 O'erflows the measure those his goodly eyes,
 That o'er the files and musters of the war
 Have glow'd like plated Mars, now bend, now turn
 The office and devotion of their view 5
 Upon a tawny front his captain's heart,
 Which in the scuffles of great fights hath burst
 The buckles on his breast, reneges all temper,

ACT I

Scene 1

Act 1 Scene 1] *Acts and scenes not marked, save here, in F*

1 *general's*] Cf *John*, II 1 65 'a bastard of the king's,' and I 1 71 *post* The double genitive still occurs in colloquial usage

4 *plated*] See *R2*, I III 28 'Thus plated in habiliments of war,' and Heywood, *The Silver Age* (*Works*, Pearson, III 132) 'Were his head brasse, or his breast doubly plated / With best Vulcanian armour Lemnos yeelds,' etc

bend, now turn] This is the pointing of F Editors place a comma after *turn*, but *bend* may be independent, expressing a contrast to the fiery outlook inferred in *glow'd*, and without influence on *the office*, etc Cf Jonson, *The Poetaster*, V 1 92 'Nor do her eyes once bend to taste sweet sleep'

5 *office*] service, as in *R2*, II 1 136 'for little office, / The hateful commons will perform for us' There seems no reason to deprive *devotion* of its separate

force, as some do, by regarding *office and devotion* as a hendiadys, equivalent to 'devoted service'

6 *front*] forehead, and so face

8 *reneges all temper*] refuses or renounces all self-restraint Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy* concludes with 'May this a fair example be to me, / To rule with temper' etc A late instance of *renegue* is in Ferrand Spence's *Lucian*, 1684, II 43 '*Lucian* What say you, *Diogenes*, know you this Dapper Blade? He's of your Pond *Diogenes* I *renegue* him for mine' Steevens quotes *Lr*, II 1 82, '*Renegue*, affirm,' and Stanyhurst's *Virgil*, *Aeneid*, 1582, bk II 'Too lue now longer, Troy burnt, hee flatlye *reneaged*' (see Arber's repr., p 64, and also pp 75, 143) For the pronunciation, Halliwell quotes Sylvester's *Du Bartas* [*The Battail of Iry*, lines 33-4] and adopts the spelling

And is become the bellows and the fan
To cool a gipsy's lust

Flourish Enter ANTONY, CLEOPATRA, her Ladies, the Train,
with Eunuchs fanning her

Look, where they come 10

Take but good note, and you shall see in him
The triple pillar of the world transform'd
Into a strumpet's fool behold and see

Cleo If it be love indeed, tell me how much

Ant There's beggary in the love that can be reckon'd 15

Cleo I'll set a bourn how far to be belov'd

Ant Then must thou needs find out new heaven, new earth

Enter an Attendant

17 S D Enter an Attendant] Capell, Enter a Messenger F

suggested by Coleridge in *Notes and Lectures, reneagues* 'All Europe nigh (all sorts of Rights *reneg'd*) / Against the Truth and Thee unholy leagu'd'

9-10 *bellows* To cool] Johnson suggests to *kindle* and to *cool*, misled by the usual use of the bellows, for which, as a cooling implement, Steevens quotes Lyly's *Midas*, v ii 84 'methinks *Venus* and Nature stande with each of them a paire of *bellows*, the one cooling my lowe birth, the other kindling my loftie affections' Malone cites also Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, ii ix 30 'But to delay the heat, least by mischance / It might breake out and set the whole on fyre, / There added was by goodly ordinance / An huge great payre of *bellows*, which did styre / Continually, and cooling breath in-spyre'

10 *gipsy's*] Not colour only but conduct is aimed at in the word For its contemptuous or insulting application to any woman, see Shirley, *The Traitor*, ii 1 'Gipsy, use better language, / Or I'll forget your sex' See also on iv xii 28 *post*, on the word and its further supposed application to Cleopatra

12 *triple pillar*] applied to Antony as

one of the three, the *Triumvirs*, who governed the world between them Cf Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, section xix 'I have therefore always endeavoured to compose those feuds and angry dissensions between Affection, Faith and Reason, for there is in our soul a kind of *Triumvirate*, a Triple Government of Three Competitors, which distracts the Peace of this our Commonwealth not less than did that other the state of *Rome*' For *triple* = third, cf *All's W*, ii i 111 'Which He bade me store up, as a *triple eye*,' etc

13 *strumpet's fool*] There were professional fools whose places entitled them to this description Such is the fool in *Tim* See Douce, *Illustrations of Shakes*, 1807, i 151, ii 73, 304 *et seq*

15 *There's beggary* reckon'd] Steevens furnishes references to *Rom*, ii vi 32 'they are but *beggars* that can count their worth', Martial, lib vi, ep 34 '[*Basia*] pauca cupit, qui numera potest', *beggary* is niggardliness, meanness, cf *Cym*, i vi 115

16 *bound*] boundary, as in *Ham*, iii 1 79

17 S D Enter an Attendant] The 'messengers' are waiting outside

Att News, my good lord, from Rome

Ant Grates me, the sum

Cleo Nay, hear them, Antony

Fulvia perchance is angry, or who knows 20

If the scarce-bearded Cæsar have not sent
His powerful mandate to you, 'Do this, or this,
Take in that kingdom, and enfranchise that,
Perform't, or else we damn thee'

Ant How, my love?

Cleo Perchance? nay, and most like 25

You must not stay here longer, your dismissal
Is come from Cæsar, therefore hear it, Antony
Where's Fulvia's process? Cæsar's I would say Both?
Call in the messengers As I am Egypt's queen,
Thou blushest, Antony, and that blood of thine 30
Is Cæsar's homager else so thy cheek pays shame
When shrill-tongued Fulvia scolds The messengers'

Ant Let Rome in Tiber melt, and the wide arch

18 *Att*] *Capell, Mes F*

18 *Grates me, the sum*] offends me be brief See Middleton, *No Wit [Help] Like a Woman's*, 1 1 9 'but I'm grated [=vexed] / In a dear, absolute friend,' etc F's comma (as against many editors' colon) gives Antony's impatience

19 *them*] i e the news *News* is sometimes singular, as in III vii 54 *post*, *Lr*, IV ii 87, sometimes plural, as in *Rom*, II v 22

23 *Take in*] subdue, occupy See III vii 23 *post*, on which Steevens quotes Chapman's *Homer, Iliad*, II 10 The expression occurs again and again in that book, e g line 22 'Thy strong hand the broad-way'd town of Troy / Shall now take in'

enfranchise] set free

26 *dismissal*] similarly for *dismissal* in *Cym*, II iii 57

28 *Fulvia*] Antony's wife

process] summons, the name of the whole course of proceedings in a cause, being so applied, according to Minshew, because the calling into court 'is the beginning or the principall part

thereof, by which the rest of the business is directed,' etc See Forman's *Diary* (ed Halliwell, 1849), under 1590 'The 26 of July I was served with *proces* to apeare at the Star chamber, before the counsell', Overbury, *Characters*, 1616, *An Apparattour* 'Thus lives he in a golden age, till Death by a *processe*, summons him to appeare'

31 *homager*] vassal So Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, I iii 742 'A many *homagers* to Tamar's crown'

else so] or else (even more humiliating) it is your usual reaction to Fulvia's reproaches

32 *shrill-tongued Fulvia*] See North, *post*, p 242

33 *Let Rome melt*] Cf II v 78 *post*

33-4 *arch rang'd empire fall*] *rang'd* is probably ordered, having its parts in due succession The main conception is elusive Should the mind momentarily image a structure supported by a vast arch, or 'a fabric standing on pillars' (Johnson) or the

42-3 *Antony Cleopatra*] It is slightly in favour of a previous aside (see last note) that 'Antony will be himself' (i.e. noble, peerless as he is), may revert to *peerless*, the whole being equivalent to Antony will show himself noble, as he is *Ant* Only if inspired by *Cleopatra* This is, in any case, substantially the usual interpretation Johnson, taking *but* in its exceptive sense (cf III xi 47 *post*), understood 'Antony will recollect his thoughts,' 'Unless kept in commotion by *Cleopatra*', and I have sometimes

Now for the love of Love, and her soft hours,
 Let's not confound the time with conference harsh 45
 There's not a minute of our lives should stretch
 Without some pleasure now What sport to-night?

Cleo Hear the ambassadors

Ant Fie, wrangling queen
 Whom every thing becomes, to chide, to laugh,
 To weep how every passion fully strives 50
 To make itself, in thee, fair and admired!
 No messenger but thine, and all alone,
 To-night we'll wander through the streets, and note
 The qualities of people Come, my queen,
 Last night you did desire it Speak not to us 55

[*Exeunt Ant and Cleo with their Train*]

Dem Is Cæsar with Antonius priz'd so slight?

Phi Sir, sometimes, when he is not Antony,
 He comes too short of that great property
 Which still should go with Antony

Dem I am full sorry
 That he approves the common liar, who 60

47 now] *F*, new Warburton 50 how] who *F*, whose *F2* See note 55 S D
Exeunt] Capell, *Exeunt with the Traine F*

thought that Cleopatra's reference might be to Antony's conduct at the moment, and the sense Antony will be Antony, play the lover, embrace
Ant Yes, unless angered by Cleopatra
 What follows is a plea against such angering Cf Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, I i 268 'Be more yourself, as you respect our favour, / You'll stir us else' etc

45 *confound*] waste See I iv 28 *post*, and *Cor*, I vi 17

50 *how*] †*F*'s *who* is clearly impossible, and *F2*'s emendation, *whose*, has been universally accepted But it is not wholly satisfactory, and I suggest *how* It is graphically a trifle easier, assuming the transposition of one letter by the compositor rather than the omission of two, and it regularizes somewhat confused syntax, since *in thee* is redundant after *whose* This second argument goes for little, since the

redundancy is not un-Shakespearean, but I think that the picture with *how* is the better of the two The passions are not Cleopatra's possessions, but independent things, looking for someone in whom to display themselves to the best advantage, and finding their show-ground in Cleopatra [*R*]

52 *No thine* etc] For Antony's treatment of ambassadors, see North, *post*, p 244, for the rest, *ibid*, p 249

54 *qualities*] characters or characteristics The word is also frequent in the sense function, profession, as in *Ham.*, II ii 461 Cf Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra*, v 1 (*Six Old Plays*, Nichols, I 49) 'but now tell me / What *quality* hast, that I may use thee? / *Rosk* I am a Barbour'

55 *Speak us*] to the messenger who waited with the news

58 *property*] distinctive quality

60 *approves*] corroborates So in *Lr*,

Thus speaks of him at Rome, but I will hope
Of better deeds to-morrow Rest you happy! [Exeunt

[SCENE II — *The same Another room*]

Enter ENOBARBUS, LAMPRIUS, a Soothsayer, RANNIUS, LUCILLIUS,
CHARMIAN, IRAS, MARDIAN the Eunuch, and ALEXAS

Char Lord Alexas, sweet Alexas, most any thing Alexas,

Scene II

1 Lord] Johnson, L F

11 167 'Good lung, that must
approve the common saw', *Ham*, I 1
29 'He may approve our eyes,' i.e. con-
firm their witness Malone rather un-
necessarily takes 'the common liar' to
be Fame

61-2 *hope Of*] So in *Meas*, III 1 1
'So then you *hope of* pardon from Lord
Angelo?'

62 *Rest you happy*] Cf 'Rest you
merry,' *Rom*, I 1 65, 'Sit you merry,
sir,' Johnson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV VI
55, said ironically to Waspe when he is
put in the stocks The full phrase
appears in *AYL*, V 1 66 'God rest
you merry, sir'

Scene II

S D Enter] † Of the nine char-
acters in F's entry (or eight if we take
'Lamprius' to be the name of the
soothsayer) four (or three) have no-
thing to say throughout the scene, and
three of the names occur nowhere else
in the play The usual way, since
Steevens, of treating this entry has
been to excise Lamprius, Rannius,
Lucilius, and Mardian, to bring in
Charman, Iras, Alexas, and the sooth-
sayer together, and defer Enobarbus'
entry till after line 10 I do not think
that this at all represents Shakespeare's
intention And it is a good example of
what happens when one starts playing
fast and loose with Shakespeare's
stage-directions, and neglects to keep
an eye on the stage In the first place it

makes something near nonsense of
Charman's opening question, if a
group of four people enter together it
is merely silly for one to ask a second
where the fourth member of the quar-
tet is, and Alexas' 'Soothsayer' is
clearly in the nature of a summons
(This no doubt could be met by giving
the soothsayer his entry after line 6)
In the second place there is no reason
why Enobarbus should not be among
the first entrants No doubt, again, he
could enter after line 10, throwing his
order over his shoulder as he comes in,
but he is then left up in the air, since
the others neglect him, and he has no
more to say till line 44, which would
not matter with a character on already
but is dramatically clumsy with a
fresh entrant With this in mind it is
worth examining F's entry again, and
in particular the order of it, since I
think that the order of a Shakespearean
entry is sometimes significant (see
note on II VI below, and compare
Hamlet's first entry (in Q2), univers-
ally and disastrously emended by all
editors from F inclusive downwards
till Dover Wilson saw the dramatic
point and restored the Quarto read-
ing) The characters fall into two
groups, one of Enobarbus, a sooth-
sayer, and two (or three) non-speaking
figures who, from their names, are
presumably Romans, and an Egyptian
group, of Cleopatra's waiting women,
Mardian, and Alexas (There is just

almost most absolute Alexas, where's the soothsayer that you prais'd so to the queen? O that I knew this husband, which, you say, must charge his horns with garlands!

5

4 charge] *Theobald* (*Warburton and Southern MS*), change *F*

this much to be said for thinking Lampricus to be the soothsayer that this would give the two speaking characters first, followed by the two supers.) Dover Wilson saw this, and brings in 'Enobarbus and three other Romans talking with a Soothsayer,' and then 'a little after,' the Egyptian group. I do not think that this is a possible interpretation of F's entry. A scene-opening in which the entrants are engaged in an inaudible conversation is surely unparalleled in Shakespeare (on the modern stage even a silent entry can be covered by business, arranging cushions or a coffee tray or what not, but this sort of cover is not possible on the Elizabethan stage, Shakespeare often covers an entry with *irrelevant* conversation till the characters are well down stage, but he invariably gives the entrants *something* to say). I do not understand why Wilson, having gone seven-eighths of the way, failed to make the final step to what seems the obvious solution. The two groups come in simultaneously, but by different doors. The entry of both is covered by the brisk conversation of one, Enobarbus is there to give his order, and the soothsayer is where we want him, in the non-Egyptian group, so that Alexas can call him over [R] (Plutarch gives his 'grandfather Lampricus' as the authority for one of his stories. See *post*, p. 248. He does not mention Rannius or Lucilius.)

1-5 *Lord garlands*] This speech has a suspicion of mutilated verse about it. Capell (omitting *Lord*) printed as six lines of verse. S. Walker conjectures verse, lines 3-5. 'O garlands!'

4-5 *charge garlands*] This reading

is taken to imply cuckoldom for Charmian's wished husband—which is Alexas' prediction—but cuckoldom garlanded, i.e. rich and honourable (Warburton) or contented (Malone) or triumphant (Steevens), an idea which Charmian herself would more probably contribute. Steevens might have quoted *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (1616), v. 334 (Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, II. 207) 'Ile weare this Crowne [a compulsory 'Coronet of Cuckolds,' line 316 *ante*] and triumph in this horne.' I doubt these inferences, 'rich,' etc. Quite possibly the horns are credited in advance, and *must charge*, etc., merely means *must marry me*, wear the bridegroom's chaplet. Cf. Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, *The Magnificence* (1621 ed., p. 462) 'A Garland, The Royall Bride-groom's radiant brow bedights.' Or may the jest be, after all, only the equivalent (with cuckoldom thrown in) of modern banter, in an allusion to the *victim*, and the phrase = *must come as a sacrifice to the altar*? Cf. D'Avenant, *Gondibert* (1651), III. 61. 'Who lets this gilded Sacrifice proceed / To Hymen's Altar, by the king adorn'd, / As Priests give Victims Garlands ere they bleed.' Some would retain *change*. Steevens quotes *Cym*, I. v. 55, *Paradise Lost*, IV. 892 ('to *change* Torment with ease') for *change with* = *change for*, and interprets much as the advocates of *charge*. Threlton has 'take his horns in exchange for [wedding] garlands,' aptly comparing Jonson, 'To Celia' (*The Forest*, ix) 'Be might I of Jove's nectar sup, / I would not *change* for thine.' Upton's 'ne dress and adorn' or Johnson's suggestion 'dress, or dress with changes of garlands,' reappears in Staunton, who reads *change* as = 'vary or garnish'.

Alex Soothsayer¹

Sooth Your will²

Char Is this the man? Is't you, sir, that know things?

Sooth In nature's infinite book of secrecy

A little I can read

Alex Show him your hand

10

Eno Bring in the banquet quickly, wine enough,

Cleopatra's health to drink

Char Good sir, give me good fortune

Sooth I make not, but foresee

Char Pray then, foresee me one

15

Sooth You shall be yet far fairer than you are

Char He means in flesh

Irás No, you shall paint when you are old

Char Wrinkles forbid!

Alex Vex not his prescience, be attentive

20

Char Hush!

Sooth You shall be more loving than belov'd

Char I had rather heat my liver with drinking

20 prescience] *F*, patience *F*₃

Schmidt gives *change* = 'make of another appearance,' and cf *Cor*, v 111 152 (*F* reading), on which Malone relied as an unmistakable instance of *change* in error for *charge*

16 *fairer are*] Mr Craig points out that the soothsayer, whose later deliverances (11 111 *post*) are so pregnant, probably does not speak idly in this scene, and that the present prediction is perhaps fulfilled in Charmian's *character*, by the fairer, nobler qualities displayed in Act v (or the fame resulting from them) which made her mistress call her 'noble' (v 11 229 *post*), and Caesar exclaim of her last movements 'O noble weakness' (v 11 342 *post*)

17 *in flesh*] Charmian takes *fair* in the sense 'plump, in good condition' Cf *ATL*, 1 1 11 'His horses are bred better, for, besides that they are *fair* with their feeding,' etc (Craig)

20 *his prescience*] Delius thinks this a title like *his worship*, used jocosely

22 *You belov'd*] 'i e [as the soothsayer means it, not as Charmian takes it] You shall expend all your love on your queen and mistress, and so will not gain the affection of male admirers' (Craig) Or possibly it refers to the love between Charmian and her mistress The further *direct* predictions may be conveniently noted here as literally true, viz, those in lines 31, 33-4, and that to Irás in line 52 'Your fortunes are alike'

23 *heat drinking*] So in *Mer V*, 1 1 81 'And let my liver rather *heat* with wine' The same effect was formerly attributed to love, whence Charmian's expression of preference Cf *Tp*, iv 1 55-6, and Webster, *Appius and Virginia*, iv 1 255, where the lust of Appius is aimed at 'We have not such hot livers mark you that' That love has its seat in the liver was an opinion of the ancients, and is amusingly discussed in Prior's *Alma*, 1 351

Alex Nay, hear him

Char Good now, some excellent fortune! Let me be married to three kings in a forenoon, and widow them all let me have a child at fifty, to whom Herod of Jewry may do homage Find me to marry me with Octavius Cæsar, and companion me with my mistress

30

Sooth You shall outlive the lady whom you serve

Char O excellent, I love long life better than figs

et seq Unlike the generality, Phineas Fletcher (*The Purple Island*, III x, and his note thereon) gives the liver a Platonic tenant 'Not Cupid's self but Cupid's better brother / By whose command we either love our kinde, / Or with most perfect love affect the munde', etc

27 *let me fifty*] On this jesting wish of Charmian to be one of very few mothers, Steevens observes This is one of Shakespeare's natural touches Few circumstances are more flattering to the fair sex than breeding at an advanced period of life Cf the jest in *Histrionastix*, Act VI 192 (Simpson, *School of Shakspeare*, II 82), where, when his unpaid hostess says 'Go to, I'll bear no longer,' Posthast replies 'What, and be under fifty?'

27-8 *Herod of Jewry*] As Steevens pointed out, Charmian bespeaks a son powerful enough to subdue even the fiercest of blustering tyrants Herod is the type of these in the Miracle plays The York play of *The Coming of the Three Kings to Herod* opens with a rant in which Herod claims the clouds, Saturn, Sun and Moon, etc., as his subjects, and in that of the Nativity, in the Coventry series, occurs the direction 'Here Erode ragis in thys pagond and in the strete also' See III III 3 *post, Wiv*, II 1 20 'What a *Herod of Jewry* is this' and *Ham*, III II 16, of rant 'It out-herods Herod' Furness cites, and unwillingly inclines to accept, the suggestion of Th Zielinski (*Philologus*, p 19) that in Charmian's speech, the child is Christ, and the

three Kings are the three wise men, or three Kings [of Cologne] as they were usually called

28 *Find*] 1 e in the lines of the hand, as Delius notes See line 10 *ante*

32 *I figs*] a proverbial expression, say Steevens and Schmidt, regrettably without references to distinguish the assertion from an easy surmise I can only doubtfully suggest possible clues for the choice of figs (if, indeed, there was any occult reason for it) in (1) 'The Fig tree is more fruitful than other trees, for it beareth fruit three or four times in one year,' etc (Charmian's mind was running on fruitfulness), 'Figs do away rivels [1 e wrinkles] of old men, if they ate thereof among their meat' (see 'Wrinkles forbid' line 19 above), *Bartholomew* (Berthelet, 1535), *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, bk xvii, §61, (2) the poisoned fig of Spam so often alluded to as a secret means of removing an enemy, e g by Shirley, *The Mad's Revenge*, III II (*Works*, 1833, I 141) 'A rat' give him his bane our own country figs shall do it rarely', (3) the following passages, particularly the second, from Sir T Browne, *A Letter to a Friend*, etc., 1690 (*Religio Medici*, etc., Canterbury, 1894, p 138) 'Upon my first visit I was bold to tell them who had not let fall all hopes of his recovery, that in my sad opinion he was not like to behold a grasshopper, much less to pluck another fig, for he lived not unto the middle of May, and confirmed the observation of *Hippocrates* of that mortal time of the year when the leaves of

Sooth You have seen and prov'd a fairer former fortune
Than that which is to approach

Char Then belike my children shall have no names pri- 35
thee, how many boys and wenches must I have?

Sooth If every of your wishes had a womb,
And fertile every wish, a million

Char Out, fool! I forgive thee for a witch

Alex You think none but your sheets are privy to your 40
wishes

Char Nay, come, tell Iras hers

Alex We'll know all our fortunes

Eno Mine, and most of our fortunes to-night, shall be—
drunk to bed 45

Iras There's a palm presages chastity, if nothing else

Char E'en as the o'erflowing Nilus presageth famine

Iras Go, you wild bedfellow, you cannot soothsay

Char Nay, if an oily palm be not a fruitful prognostica-

38 fertile] *Theobald* (*Warburton*), foretell *F*

the fig-tree resemble a Daw's claw' Perhaps, as there is more in the sooth-sayer's words than meets the eye, so we ought not to forget here the basket of figs which brings death to Charmian, v 11 *post*, though Warburton has been ridiculed for detecting an omen

35 *Then names*] Then, I suppose, my children will be bastards Steevens quotes *Gent*, m 1 324 'Speed She hath many nameless virtues *Launce* That's as much as to say, bastard virtues, that indeed know not their fathers and therefore have no names' See also Beaumont and Fletcher, *A King and No King*, m 1 175 'else I shall live / Like sinful issues that are left in streets / By their regardless Mothers, and no name / Will be found for me'

37 *every*] similarly a pronoun in *ATL*, v 14 179 'Every of this happy number'

38 *fertile*] The frequent spelling *fertill* supports the emendation Pope reads *foretold*, Collier MS *fruitful* Johnson thought *foretell* might stand, explaining, on the supposition of an unlikely ellipse 'And [if] I should foretel

all those wishes, I should foretel a million of children' Malone objects that the supposition of wombs without a second fertility would not be a sufficient hypothesis

39 *I witch*] Professor Herford says 'for a witch, i.e. as being a wizard, and hence privileged to utter home-truths', and a frank admission would not be unlike the Charmian who has just said 'Then belike my children,' etc On the other hand, there is much to be said for repudiation, and the usual explanation, which = 'I'll answer for your being no witch, if this is a sample of your skill' The phrase is not unlike, 'I'll warrant him for drowning' (*Tp*, i 1 51), '*R Royster* Except I have hir to my Wife, I shall runne madde *M Mery* Nay unwise perhaps, but I warrant you for madde' (*Roister Doister*, i 11 79) Steevens quotes 'a common proverbial reproach to silly ignorant females "You'll never be burnt for a witch"' The gender of witch was formerly common, it is masculine again in *Cym*, i vi 166

49 *only palm*] A moist palm was sup-

tion, I cannot scratch mine ear Prithee tell her but 50
a worky-day fortune

Sooth Your fortunes are alike

Iras But how, but how? give me particulars

Sooth I have said

Iras Am I not an inch of fortune better than she? 55

Char Well, if you were but an inch of fortune better than
I, where would you choose it?

Iras Not in my husband's nose

Char Our worser thoughts heavens mend! Alexas,—
come, his fortune, his fortune! O, let him marry a 60
woman that cannot go, sweet Isis, I beseech thee,

59-60 Alexas,—come] *Theobald, Alexas* Come, *F*, apparently assigning the speech
from Come onward to Alexas

posed to indicate a wanton disposition
See Middleton, *Blurt Master Constable*,
1 11 20 'Lazarillo A woman, Pilcher,
the moist-handed Madonna Imperia,
a most rare and divine creature *Pilch*
A most rascally damned courtesan'
Malone quotes *Oth*, III iv 37 'This
hand is moist, my lady,' and 39 'This
argues fruitfulness and liberal heart',
but see the whole passage, 37-44, and
Ven, 25-6 See also Overbury's *Char-*
acters, under 'A very whore'

49-50 *fruitful prognostication*] pres-
age of fertility

51 *worky-day*] ordinary Cf *AYL*,
1 11 12 'working-day world' The
noun occurs in *Two Wise Men and All*
the Rest Fools, 1619, II 1 'I ha' more
weeds grown in one Holy-day than in
three worky-days'

58 *Not nose*] The author of
Tristram Shandy may be consulted here
See bk III, chap xxxi, bk V, chap 1 *ad*
fin Cf also *The Unnatural Combat*, IV 11
(Gifford's *Massinger*, ed Cuninghame,
p 58a) 'It hath just your eyes, and
such a promising nose, / That, if the
sign deceive me not, in time / 'Twill
prove a notable striker, like his
father'

59-60 Alexas,—come] †The *F* read-
ing is an interesting example of the
confusion that may be caused by the

italicization of proper names in text as
well as in speech-headings The com-
positor presumably found the proper
name indicated for italicization in his
copy and took it for a speech-heading
It is even possible, I think, that he did
not at first regard it as a speech-head-
ing, but, having barely room for it in
the line after *mend*, started a new line
with it and inadvertently inset it level
with the speech-headings, since it is
noticeable (and Rolfe noted it) that
this is the only place where the name
is given in full as a speech-heading, and
not in the abbreviated form *Alex* [R]

61 *that cannot go*] *Go* is constantly
employed for walk, etc, and go up-
right, as opposed to creep, especially in
a varying proverb 'blood (kind, love,
barns, etc) will creep where it (they)
cannot go,' in print as early as 1481
(Caxton, *Reynard the Fox*, ed Arber,
p 70) 'one shal alway seke on his
frendis, though he haue angered them,
for blood must kreppe, where it *can not*
goo' Does Charman, then, mean here
an old, crippled, or bed-ridden woman,
whom, on second thoughts, she wills to
die and give place to a series of worse
in another kind, who will cuckold
Alexas as she could not? Another com-
mon sense of *go* is 'be pregnant,' and
go=*go* with child, actually occurs

and let her die too, and give him a worse, and let worse follow worse, till the worst of all follow him laughing to his grave, fifty-fold a cuckold! Good Isis, hear me this prayer, though thou deny me a matter 65 of more weight good Isis, I beseech thee!

Iras Amen, dear goddess, hear that prayer of the people! for, as it is a heart-breaking to see a handsome man loose-wiv'd, so it is a deadly sorrow to behold a foul knave uncuckolded therefore, dear Isis, keep 70 decorum, and fortune him accordingly!

Char Amen

Alex Lo now, if it lay in their hands to make me a cuckold, they would make themselves whores, but they'd do't 75

Eno Hush, here comes Antony

Enter CLEOPATRA

Char Not he, the queen

Cleo Saw you my lord?

Eno No, lady

Cleo Was he not here?

Char No, madam

Cleo He was dispos'd to mirth, but on the sudden

76 S D *Enter Cleopatra*] after do't, line 75, F 77 Saw you my lord?] F₂,
Saue you, my lord F

without the time expression which usually makes the sense unmistakable, in *A Cure for a Cuckold*, II II 102 'And, Urse, how goes all at home? or cannot all go yet? lank still! will 't never be full sea at our wharf? Wife Alas, husband! *Comp[ass]* A lass, or a lad, wench, I should be glad of both' In *LLL*, V II 676-7, Costard says 'The party is gone, fellow Hector, she is gone she is two months on her way' Charman, who wished to bear at fifty (see line 27 *ante*), would account sterility a severe wish, not to mention that it would imprecate on Alexas one of the things that are said to be never satisfied Thiselton—the only commentator, I believe, to offer an expla-

nation—makes 'that cannot go' = 'that is never satisfied,' without remark or evidence to support his view

Isis] originally the Egyptian goddess of the earth and fertility, later of the moon See Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, V VII 4 'They wore rich Mitres shaped like the Moone, / To shew that Isis doth the Moone portend,' etc

67 *that prayer* *people*] 'seems to mean "that universal prayer"' (Thiselton)

76 S D] F puts the entry before Enobarbus' remark at the beginning of the line, but this is hardly possible, since the actual presence of Cleopatra on the stage would make the remark nonsensical

A Roman thought hath struck him Enobarbus¹ 80

Eno Madam

Cleo Seek him, and bring him hither Where's Alexas²

Alex Here at your service My lord approaches

Cleo We will not look upon him go with us [Exeunt

Enter ANTONY, with a Messenger.

Mess Fulvia thy wife first came into the field 85

Ant Against my brother Lucius³

Mess Ay

But soon that war had end, and the time's state
Made friends of them, jointing their force 'gainst Cæsar,
Whose better issue in the war, from Italy, 90
Upon the first encounter, drave them

Ant Well, what worst⁴

Mess The nature of bad news infects the teller

Ant When it concerns the fool or coward On
Things that are past are done, with me 'Tis thus,
Who tells me true, though in his tale lie death, 95
I hear him as he flatter'd

Mess Labienus—

This is stiff news—hath with his Parthian force

80 *A Roman thought*] perhaps a thought such as Roman virtue would inspire, and not merely, as Schmidt explains it, 'A thought of Rome'

84 S D] Again F puts the entry a line earlier It is impossible to place it rightly, since Cleopatra's exit and Antony's entry are simultaneous

85-91 *Fulvia*, etc] See North, *post*, p 249

89 *jointing*] The past part of the same verb occurs in *Cym*, v iv 143, v v 441

92 *The nature teller*] So in 2H4, i i 100 'Yet the first bringer of un-welcome news / Hath but a losing office, and his tongue,' etc Cf also ii v 85-6 *post*

94 *done, with me 'Tis thus*] Dover Wilson, adopting a suggestion of Capt E G Spencer-Churchill, repunctuates *done With me, 'tis thus*

96 *as he flatter'd*] as (readily as) if he

96-101 *Labienus Whilst*] †F prints thus

Labienus (this is stiffe-newes)

Hath with his Parthian Force

Extended Asia from Euphrates

his conquering

Banner shooke, from Syria to Lydia,

And to Ionia, whil'st—,

a typical example of F mislineation, corrected by most editors as in text here, though Pope, followed by Theobald, tried a different, and rhythmically much duller, arrangement But there has been a conspiracy of most editors, including Case and Dover Wilson, to tinker also with F's punctuation and read

Extended Asia from Euphrates,

His conquering banner shook from Syria

Extended Asia from Euphrates
 His conquering banner shook, from Syria
 To Lydia, and to Ionia
 Whilst—

100

Ant Antony, thou wouldst say,—

Mess O, my lord!

Ant Speak to me home, mince not the general tongue
 Name Cleopatra as she is call'd in Rome,
 Rail thou in Fulvia's phrase, and taunt my faults
 With such full licence, as both truth and malice
 Have power to utter O then we bring forth weeds,
 When our quick minds lie still, and our ills told us

105

107 mounds] *Hammer* (Warburton), windes F

To Lydia and to Ionia, whilst
 which (apart from producing two
 rhythmically repetitive lines) misses
 the point that Shakespeare was merely
 versifying North's 'Labienus con-
 quered all Asia with the armie of
 the Parthians, from the river of Euphrates,
 and from Syria, unto the contries of
 Lydia and Ionia' (p 249, *post*) [R]

98 *Extended*] seized upon *Extent* is a
 legal phrase from the words of a writ—
extendi facias—authorizing full valua-
 tion of land before seizure See *AYL*,
 III 1 17 'let my officers / Make an
extent upon his house and lands',
 Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller*, II,
 p 311, line 11 'Ere the officers come
 to *extend*, He bestow a hundred pound
 on a doale of bread,' etc

Asia Euphrates] *Asia* a trisyllable
 and *Euphrates*, as usually at this period,
 'Euphrātes' So Drayton, in a passage
 (of which Steevens quotes line 2) re-
 calling the famous lines of Denham in
Cooper's Hill 'Give me those lines,
 (whose touch the skilful care to please) /
 That gliding flow in state, like swelling
Euphrates,' etc *Polyolbion*, pt II, 1622,
 Song xxi

102 *home*] directly (cf 'strike home')
 as in *Cym*, III v 92

mince] diminish, fine down Now
 used only in 'mince the matter or
 matters', as in *Oth*, II III 249, but

compare Charles Cotton, *Poems* (1689),
 p 182 'The man, upon this, comes
 me running again, / But yet minces his
 Message, and was not so plain,' [1 e so
 peremptory]

104 *Fulvia's phrase*] See on I 1 32
ante

107 *mounds*] So most editors, the
 sense of this passage being thus either
 (1) we accumulate faults when our
 reason forgets its natural activity and
 exerts no corrective force, and to be
 told of these is as salutary as earing
 (ploughing) to weed-grown fields, or
 (2) when our *minds*, with their gift of
 fertility, lie idle and uncultivated, they
 produce evil growths, and, etc
 Ascham, *Toxophilus*, 1545 (Arber,
 1868, p 93), similarly appeals to the
 value of ploughing for eradicating
 weeds, in support of his receipt against
 the weeds of the mind 'euen as
 plowing of a good ground for wheate,
 doth not onely make it mete for the
 seede, but also rueth and plucketh vp
 by the rootes, all thistles, brambles and
 weeds Euen so shulde the teach-
 ing of youth to shote, not only make
 them shote well, but also plucke away
 by the rootes all other desyre to
 noughtye pastymes, as disynge,' etc
 See also next note, and for *quack*, com-
 pare Ascham, as before, p 40
 'Muche musike recreateth and

Is as our earing Fare thee well awhile
 Mess At your noble pleasure

[Exit

Enter another Messenger

Ant From Sicyon how the news? Speak there!

110

110 Sicyon how the news?] F (Sicion), Sicyon ho, the news! Dyce

maketh *quycke* a mannes *mynde*', also H5, iv 1 20 'And when the *mind* is *quicken'd*' On *winds*, which several editors retain, Johnson says 'The sense is, that man, not agitated by censure, like soil not ventilated by *quick winds*, produces more evil than good' See 3H6, ii vi 21 'For what doth cherish weeds but gentle air?' quoted by Steevens Capell thought *quick winds* = *friends* Another explanation, beginning with a suggestion of Blackstone, is technical Steevens thinks *quick winds* = teeming fallows, because 'the ridges left in lands turned up by the plough, that they may sweeten during their fallow state, are still called *wind-rows*' In Collier *winds* = (perhaps) *wints*, 'in Kent and Surrey two furrows ploughed by the horses going to one end of the field and back again' He refers to Cooper's *Glossary of Provincialisms*, etc (Sussex, 1836), and Holloway, *Gen Prov Dict* (1838)

108 *earring*] ploughing See i iv 49 *post*, Herbert, *A Priest to the Temple* (1652), chap xxxiv 'the usuall seasons of summer and winter, *earring* and harvest', *Arden of Feversham*, iii v 24 'For Greene doth *ear* the land and weed thee up, / To make my harvest nothing but pure corn'

109-14] † I have retained F's S D s since I am not clear that the seeming difficulties justify the drastic changes which have been followed by almost all editors Rowe cut out the S D at line 109 altogether, and Capell turned the messengers of lines 111 and 112 into attendants This runs smoothly enough, but the 'Enter another Messenger' at line 109 is obstinately there and I do not think that F is at all

impossible as it stands The entering messenger finds that he has come from the wrong place, and calls to a group at the door to see whether there is another messenger who will give Antony what he wants, a second messenger in the group, eager to please, reports that there is such a messenger, waiting I think that this perhaps gives better the general bustle of the scene, with messengers from various places coming with news, than the somewhat formal business with attendants summoning messengers in their proper turn

And I retain F's 'how the news' Antony's speech is usually given as 'From Sicyon, ho, the news!', and admittedly 'how' often in Shakespearean text stands for 'ho' But 'how the news' is a quite possible phrase (cf Shallow's 'How a score of ewes now' in 2H4, iii 11 55) and fits rather better than 'ho' if we retain F's entries [R]

110 *Sicyon*] † F's *Sicion* may easily be no more than a blunder—the sort of repeating of a letter to which we are all liable with an unfamiliar name But it may also be quite reasonably adduced as evidence supporting the view that the copy for this play was Shakespeare's autograph, in view of the fact that 'scilens' (for 'silence') occurs in the 'addition' to *Sir Thomas More*, and 'Scilens' occurs eighteen times in Q1 of 2H4 as the name of the character whom we know as Silence

Perhaps I may without impertinence interject a word about the famous three pages in *Sir Thomas More* which are so often alluded to in discussion of textual problems It has not, I think, been *proved* (indeed it is a

First Mess The man from Sicyon,—is there such an one?

Sec Mess He stays upon your will

Ant Let him appear

These strong Egyptian fetters I must break,
Or lose myself in dotage

Enter another Messenger, with a letter

What are you?

Third Mess Fulvia thy wife is dead

Ant Where died she? 115

Third Mess In Sicyon

Her length of sickness, with what else more serious

Importeth thee to know, this bears [*Gives a letter*

Ant Forbear me

[*Exeunt Messengers*

There's a great spirit gone! Thus did I desire it

What our contempts doth often hurl from us, 120

We wish it ours again The present pleasure,

By revolution lowering, does become

118 *Gives a letter*] Johnson, not in F
Staunton and some other edd

120 doth] F, do F2, contempt doth

thing hardly susceptible of proof) that they are in Shakespeare's autograph, though I think that the cumulative evidence makes it much more likely that they are than that they are not. Arguments, therefore, which use the three pages as conclusive evidence of Shakespeare's practice in such things as spelling, punctuation, or italicization of proper names are based on an assumption and not on a fact. On the other hand, I think the evidence makes it almost certain that even if the pages are not Shakespeare's autograph they are in a hand so nearly identical with his that in considering such things as 'probability of error'—that whole section of the field of emendation which depends on the probable formation of letters in the original—we can safely operate as though the three pages had Shakespeare's signature on them [R]

112 *stays upon*] So in *All's W*, III v

45 'I thank you and will stay upon your leisure'

115 *Fulvia dead*] See North, *post*, p 250

118 S D Exeunt] I think Dover Wilson is clearly right that Antony should here be left alone F has no S D

120 *contempts doth*] As the old Southern plural in -th occurs elsewhere in F, and very frequently in contemporary writings, in the verbs *do* and *have*, I have retained it Cf in F, p 174, *Mer V*, III ii 33 'I, but I feare, you speake vpon the racke, / Where men enforced doth speake anything' So Queen Elizabeth (Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769), 1 59) 'But clouds of joys untry'd / Doth cloke aspyring myndes' It is scarce in the case of other verbs, but see Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie* (ed Arber, p 31) 'the generalities that contayneth it'

122 *By revolution lowering*] carried to a lower and lower pitch in our estima-

The opposite of itself she's good, being gone,
 The hand could pluck her back that shov'd her on
 I must from this enchanting queen break off, 125
 Ten thousand harms, more than the ills I know,
 My idleness doth hatch Ho now, Enobarbus!

Re-enter ENOBARBUS.

Eno What's your pleasure, sir?

Ant I must with haste from hence

tion by the changes in ourselves and circumstances which accompany the revolution of time, or of 'the Wheel of things', as Sir T. Browne calls it (*Christian Morals*, §16) Warburton saw an allusion to the sun's diurnal course and its termination opposite to the point of rising, but the figure is no doubt merely that of the turning of a wheel, so often and variously applied. See *Lr*, v iii 176, of the correspondence between a vicious act and its final consequences 'The wheel is come full circle', *Tw N*, v i 388 'and thus the whirling of time brings in his revenges' In the present case the wheel has not come full circle 'Opinions do find, after certain revolutions [of time], men and minds like those that first begat them' (Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, §6), and by and by the advantages of losing Fulvia would again find a mind in *Antony* to appreciate them, at the moment, appreciation of these advantages is at its greatest distance in the revolution

123 *she's good, being gone*] Cf *All's W*, v iii 60 'Crying "That's good that's gone"'

124 *could*] would be ready to The line resembles one in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*, ii i 139 'Whether thou draw me on, or put me back'

125 *I must off*] Cf Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie* (1595), i 83 'Thou breakest at length from thence as one encharmed / Breaks from the enchanter that him firmly held, / For

thy first reason, (spoiling of their force / The poisoned cups of thy fair sorceress) / Recured thy spirit,' etc

127-8 ↑F reads as follows 'My idleness doth hatch / Enter Enobarbus / How now Enobarbus' This is precisely parallel to ii i 27, where Varrus' entry interrupts a speech (as indicated by a long dash in F), and he is greeted with 'How now Varrus?' At first sight there seems to be little that needs doing with either passage, insert a comma after 'now' in both, and give F's question mark after Varrus after Enobarbus also, and all is well. But in fact all is not at all well, since, though the text is the same in the two passages, the situation is not. Varrus enters hurriedly with news, whereas Enobarbus, as seems clearly implied by his first words, enters in answer to a summons. This has led most editors to shift the entry of Enobarbus to half a line later, but retaining 'How now', and led Capell and (independently) Dyce to read 'Ho, Enobarbus!' 'How' is not infrequently printed for 'Ho' (cf iv xiv 104 *post*) and Dyce makes the just comment 'It would be impossible, I presume, to point out, in any old writer, an instance of "How now!" used as the exclamation of a person summoning another into his presence'

The crucial point is Enobarbus' 'What's your pleasure?' which is almost nonsensical as a reply to a question ('How now?'), but natural as the reply to a summons, and, though reluctant to tamper with F, I think

Eno Why, then we kill all our women We see how 130
mortal an unkindness is to them, if they suffer our
departure, death's the word

Ant I must be gone

Eno Under a compelling occasion let women die it
were pity to cast them away for nothing, though 135
between them and a great cause, they should be
esteemed nothing Cleopatra catching but the least
noise of this, dies instantly I have seen her die
twenty times upon far poorer moment I do think
there is mettle in death, which commits some 140
loving act upon her, she hath such a celerity in
dying

Ant She is cunning past man's thought

Eno Alack, sir, no, her passions are made of nothing but
the finest part of pure love We cannot call her 145
winds and waters sighs and tears, they are greater
storms and tempests than almanacs can report
This cannot be cunning in her, if it be, she makes a
shower of rain as well as Jove

Ant Would I had never seen her! 150

Eno O, sir, you had then left unseen a wonderful piece

134 a compelling occasion] *Rowe*, a compelling an occasion *F*, so an
Nicholson cony, as an *Anon cony*

that Capell and Dyce were probably right, and that those who go half-way, retaining the words but shifting the S D, are certainly wrong, making poor sense either way, as is the usual fate of such compromises (I have retained *F*'s 'now', since, though it makes the line hypermetrical, it is not impossible, but Capell and Dyce may well have been right in omitting it, on the grounds that, as Furness suggests, a compositor, taking 'How' to mean 'How' and not 'Ho' might easily insert the natural 'now') [*R*]

132 *death's the word*] So in *Cym*, v
iv 155 'Hanging is the word, sir'

138 *noise*] rumour Cf *Troil*, i ii
12 'The noise goes, thus there is,'
etc

139 *upon moment*] for causes
much less weighty

139-42 *I do dying*] Enobarbus
pictures death as a vigorous lover to
whom Cleopatra yields willingly

145-6 *We tears*] Malone sus-
pected an inversion on all fours with
'To make your house our Tower' (*H8*,
v 1 107) and equivalent to 'we cannot
call her sighs and tears, winds,' etc,
but this is failing to think in Enobar-
bus' fashion For an elaboration of a
similar metaphor, see *Rom*, iii v 131-
8, and for what follows, the storms and
tempests of almanacs, cf Ben Jonson,
EMO, i iii 51, where the gram-
hoarding chuff Sordido rejoices in the
almanac prediction 'great tempest of
rain, thunder and lightning'

of work, which not to have been blest withal, would
have discredited your travel

Ant Fulvia is dead

Eno Sir?

155

Ant Fulvia is dead

Eno Fulvia?

Ant Dead

Eno Why, sir, give the gods a thankful sacrifice When
it pleaseth their deities to take the wife of a man 160
from him, it shows to man the tailors of the earth,
comforting therein, that when old robes are worn
out, there are members to make new If there were
no more women but Fulvia, then had you indeed
a cut, and the case to be lamented this grief is 165
crown'd with consolation, your old smock brings
forth a new petticoat, and indeed the tears live in an
onion, that should water this sorrow

Ant The business she hath broached in the state

Cannot endure my absence

170

Eno And the business you have broach'd here cannot be
without you, especially that of Cleopatra's, which
wholly depends on your abode

153 *discredited your travel*] proved
you a bad sight-seer

159-63 *When new*] Malone explains 'When the deities are pleased to take a man's wife from him, this act of theirs makes them appear to man like the tailors of the earth, affording this comfortable reflection, that the deities have made other women to supply the place of his former wife, as the tailor, when one robe is worn out, supplies him with another' It is possible that the bereaving deities are neither called nor resembled to 'the tailors of the earth' these may be merely reproductive man In the following passage, the bereaved lover, Pan, is apparently the *workman* (see Goodwin's Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, II iv 672) 'If thou the best of women didst forego, / Weigh if thou found'st her, or didst make her so, / If she were found so, know there's

more than one, / If made, the workman lives, though she be gone'

165 *cut*] blow So Lady Kix, of her childlessness after seven years' marriage 'Can any woman have a greater cut?' (Middleton, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, II i 135)

167-8 *the tears sorrow*] i.e. an onion would bring to your eyes all the tears that this sorrow deserves Cf. *The Noble Soldier*, 1634 (Bullen's *Old Plays*, I 268), quoted in part by Steevens 'If you had buried nine husbands, so much water as you might squeeze out of an Onion had been teares enow to cast away upon fellows that cannot thanke you', see also *Sir*, Ind., I 124-8 *Onion ey'd* occurs IV II 35 *post*

172 *that of Cleopatra's*] Hammer read *Cleopatra* but see on I I I *ante*

173 *abode*] stay See *Cym*, I VI 53, Fairfax, *Godfrey of Bullougne*, 1600, p 98 'Thus spake the king, and soone

Ant No more, light answers Let our officers
 Have notice what we purpose I shall break 175
 The cause of our expedience to the queen,
 And get her leave to part For not alone
 The death of Fulvia, with more urgent touches,
 Do strongly speak to us, but the letters too
 Of many our contriving friends in Rome 180
 Petition us at home Sextus Pompeius
 Hath given the dare to Cæsar, and commands
 The empire of the sea Our slippery people,
 Whose love is never link'd to the deserper
 Till his deserts are past, begin to throw 185
 Pompey the Great, and all his dignities
 Upon his son, who high in name and power,
 Higher than both in blood and life, stands up
 For the main soldier whose quality, going on,

174 light] *F*, like *F2* 177 leave] *Pope*, loue *F* 182 Hath] *F2*, Haue
F

without *aboad* / The troope went forth
 in shining armour clad,' etc

176 *expedience*] The word usually
 means *haste* in Shakespeare (cf *R2*,
 II 1 287) and may very well = *haste*
 here, as Dyce explains it, for the de-
 parture was to be sudden. It is, how-
 ever, generally explained as *expedition*
 with Warburton, and compared with
2H4, I 1 33, where 'this dear expe-
 dience' seems to stand for the expedi-
 tion to the Holy Land. But even there,
 it probably rather means 'matter
 demanding haste,' else why the next
 line 'My hege, this *haste* was hot in
 question'?

177 *leave to part*] Several editors
 retain *love*, understanding with Stee-
 vens 'And prevail on her love to con-
 sent to our separation', but strong
 probability favours *leave*, and Malone
 remarked a similar misprint (*loves* for
leaves) in *Tit*, III 1 291 *part* = depart,
 as often

178 *more urgent touches*] 'things that
 touch us more sensibly, more pressing
 motives' (Johnson)

180 *many contriving friends*] many

who occupy themselves in my inter-
 ests The usual sense of *contrive* is plot,
 conspire, as in *Cæs*, II III 6 'If not, the
 Fates with traitors do *contrive*', and
 S Walker scents a Latinism here for
 'spending the time', 'sojourning' Cf
Shr, I II 279 'Please ye we may *con-
 trive* this afternoon' The difference of
 the cases, however, makes the point
 very doubtful, and even in the in-
 stance just quoted this sense is ques-
 tioned by Schmidt For the position of
many, cf *Tim*, III VI 11 'many my near
 occasions'

181 *Petition home*] beg for my
 presence in Rome

181-90 *Sextus Pompeius*, etc.] See
 North, *post*, p 251, I III 45, etc, I IV
 36, etc, *post* The clause 'Whose
 past,' lines 184-5, has been taken of
 Pompey the Great, but would be less
 true of him, and seems to be definitely
 confirmed to Sextus by I IV 43 *post*,
 'the ebb'd man, ne'er lov'd till ne'er
 worth love'

188 *blood and life*] high mettle and
 vital energy

189 *quality*] nature and condition,

The sides o' the world may danger Much is breeding,
Which like the courser's hair, hath yet but life, 191
And not a serpent's poison Say our pleasure,
To such whose places under us require,
Our quick remove from hence

Eno I shall do't

[*Exeunt*

193 whose places require] whose places under us, require *F*, whose place is under us, requires *F2*, who've places requires *Mason conj* 195 *Exeunt*] not in *F*

including their potentialities. Some, however, connect it more especially with 'the main soldier,' as, e.g., Delius 'If Pompey progresses pre-eminently in this role of soldier,' etc. See also on I i 54 *ante*. It is worth noting that *quality* in *2H4*, IV iii 36, 'Because you are not of our *quality*, [But stand against us like an enemy,' is explained 'party.' It is given in *OED* as the sole known instance, but this sense, if admissible, would suit the passage before us. So Kinnear takes it.

190 *The sides danger*] So in *Cym*, III i 49-51 'Caesar's ambition / Which swelled so much that it did almost stretch / *The sides of the world*' See also on I iii 16 and IV xiv 39 *post*.

191 *the courser's hair*] In a passage in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1587, *The Description of England*, p. 224, to which Steevens refers, is a sceptical account of this old popular belief 'it [i.e. the getting a brood of eels from a turf cut beside a fenny river and placed in contact with the water] would seeme a wonder, and yet it is beleueed, with no lesse assurance of some, than that an horse haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in short time sturre and become a living creature.' Coleridge, *Shakespeare Notes and Lectures*, says on

the passage in the text 'This is so far true to appearance, that a horse hair, "laid," as Hollinshead says, "in a pail of water," will become the supporter of seemingly one worm, though probably of an immense number of small slimy water-lice. It is a common experiment with schoolboys in Cumberland and Westmoreland. Mr Craig tells me that he recollects being shown, as a child, by his Irish nurse, some horsehairs wriggling about in a tributary of the Bann in Derry, and being informed that they were turning into eels. The thought of a serpent as yet only potentially venomous occurs also in *Mac*, III iv 29-31.

192-4 *Say from hence*] † The reading of the text is that of *F*, with the transposition of the comma from after *us* to after *require*. Most editors follow *F2*, an interesting example, I think, of the dangers of too readily deserting *F*. No doubt *F*'s reading would have been an easy 'auditory error', but it gives the right sense, which I suggest *F2* does not. Antony does not want *all* his subordinates informed. He is saying, more practically, 'Convey my intention (our immediate departure) to those of my subordinates whose positions make it essential for them to be informed.' [*R*]

[SCENE III — *The Same*]*Enter CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, ALEXAS, and IRAS**Cleo* Where is he?*Char* I did not see him since*Cleo* See where he is, who's with him, what he does

I did not send you If you find him sad,

Say I am dancing, if in mirth, report

That I am sudden sick Quick, and return [*Exit Alexas**Char* Madam, methinks if you did love him dearly, 6

You do not hold the method, to enforce

The like from him

Cleo What should I do, I do not?*Char* In each thing give him way, cross him in nothing*Cleo* Thou teachest like a fool the way to lose him 10*Char* Tempt him not so too far I wish, forbear,

In time we hate that which we often fear

Enter ANTONY

But here comes Antony

Cleo I am sick, and sullen*Ant* I am sorry to give breathing to my purpose,—*Cleo* Help me away, dear Charmian, I shall fall 15

It cannot be thus long, the sides of nature

Will not sustain it

Ant Now, my dearest queen,—*Cleo* Pray you stand farther from me*Ant* What's the matter?*Cleo* I know by that same eye there's some good news*Scene III*5 *Exit Alexas*] *Capell, not in F*

3 *I did* you] Malone compares similarly elliptical phrasing in *Troil*, iv ii 73 'I will go meet them and, my lord Aeneas, / We met by chance you did not find me here'

sad] probably 'serious' merely, as so commonly

11 *I wish, forbear*] *Prithce, forbear*

Dover Wilson adopts an anonymous conjecture 'iwis' = 'certainly' (not 'I wis')

16 *the sides of nature*] Steevens compares *Tw N*, ii iv 95 'There is no woman's *sides* / Can bide the beating of so strong a passion,' etc See also on i ii 190 *ante*, iv xiv 39 *post*

What, says the married woman you may go? 20

Would she had never given you leave to come!

Let her not say 'tis I that keep you here

I have no power upon you, hers you are

Ant The gods best know—

Cleo O, never was there queen

So mightily betray'd yet at the first 25

I saw the treasons planted

Ant Cleopatra,—

Cleo Why should I think you can be mine and true
(Though you in swearing shake the throned gods)

Who have been false to Fulvia? Riotous madness,
To be entangled with those mouth-made vows, 30

Which break themselves in swearing!

Ant Most sweet queen,—

Cleo Nay, pray you, seek no colour for your going,
But bid farewell, and go when you sued staying,

Then was the time for words, no going then,
Eternity was in our lips, and eyes, 35

Bliss in our brows' bent, none our parts so poor,

20 What, says go? What says goe? *F*, What says the married woman?
you may go, *Rowe and others*

20 *What, says go?* † *F*'s question mark is probably right, whether we supply a comma ('What, says the married woman you may go?') or another question mark ('What says the married woman? You may go?') But since exclamation and question marks were frequently confused, and, from *Fulvia*, *must* would be more natural than *may*, perhaps Cleopatra is *assuming* that *Fulvia* has issued a summons, and we should read 'What says the married woman? You may go!' [*R*]

26 *planted*] either in the gardener's sense, or = placed (like mines, etc.) so Braithwaite, *Strappado for the Duell*, 1615 (1878 repr., p. 92), *The Wooer* 'He plants his engines deeper,' etc

32 *colour*] a very common metaphor for pretext, specious excuse See *H8*, 1.1.178 Lyly plays on the word in

Campaspe, v. iv. 94 'You lay your colours grosely, though I could not paint in your shop, I can spy into your excuse', *ibid* iii. 1. 14 'You have bin so long used to colours, you can doe nothing but colour', and John Harington in a letter to Sir Antony Standen, dated from Athlone, 1559 'On Sunday last the Governor marched with one and twenty companies, or colours (for indeed some of them were but mere colours of companies, having sixty for a hundred and fifty) from Tulske,' etc See Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 1769, i. 51, also the extracts from North, *post*, pp. 256, 265

36 *bent*] arch In Ben Jonson, the arches of the brow are Love's 'double bow' see *Underwoods*, *Elegy xix* 'By that fair Stand, your forehead, whence he bends / His double Bow, and round his Arrowes sends', also

But was a race of heaven They are so still,
Or thou, the greatest soldier of the world,
Art turn'd the greatest liar

Ant

How now, lady?

Cleo

I would I had thy inches, thou shouldst know 40
There were a heart in Egypt

Ant

Hear me, queen

The strong necessity of time commands
Our services awhile, but my full heart
Remains in use with you Our Italy
Shines o'er with civil swords, Sextus Pompeius 45
Makes his approaches to the port of Rome,
Equality of two domestic powers
Breed scrupulous faction the hated, grown to strength,
Are newly grown to love the condemn'd Pompey,
Rich in his father's honour, creeps apace 50
Into the hearts of such as have not thriv'd
Upon the present state, whose numbers threaten,

ibid., *A Celebration of Charis*, v 'Both
her Brows, bent like my bow'

37 *race of heaven*] As eternity was in
her lips and eyes (cf Marlowe, *Dr
Faustus*, 1330 (sc 14) 'Sweet Helen,
make me immortal with a kiss'), bliss
in her brows, so he had found the same
or other marks of heaven in her other
beauties *A race of heaven* probably = as
Malone thought, 'of heavenly origin'
(cf the use of *race* in *Tp*, i ii 358), but
Warburton says *race* is 'smack or
flavour of heaven', and Johnson ap-
proves, observing that 'the *race* of wine
is the taste of the soil', see Massinger,
New Way to Pay Old Debts, i iii 8
'There came, not six days since, from
Hull, a pipe / Of rich Canary /
Greedy Is it of the right *race*?'
41 *Egypt*] i.e. Cleopatra, as *post*
line 78, and elsewhere

44 *in use with you*] yours to enjoy, to
have the usufruct of, *perhaps* in trust
with you, as in *Mer V*, iv 1 384,
where, however, the context puts the
phrase in strict accord with its coun-
terpart in legal terminology, when a

third party is possessed with land for
the express purpose of conveying it to
one person after the death of another
(*seisitus in usum alicujus*) See in Dyce's
Glossary, a note by Anon, apud Halli-
well, and the aforesaid passage in
Mer V, 'I am content, so he will let
me have / The other half *in use*, to
render it, / Upon his death, unto the
gentleman / That lately stole his
daughter'

45-52 *Sextus Pompeius*, etc.] Cf i ii
182-90 *ante*, i iv 36-47 *post*

46 *port of Rome*] more probably
Ostia, the natural objective of a fleet,
than = gate of Rome, though *port* =
gate in iv iv 23 *post*

48 *Breed faction*] favour the rise
of parties which profess a hesitancy in
determining where their allegiance is
due Some editors read *breeds* with
Pope, to correspond with *Equality* but
the plural is no doubt due to the
proximity of *powers* See Abbott,
Shakespearian Grammar, §412

48-9 *the hated to love*] those who
were hated are beginning to be loved

And quietness, grown sick of rest, would purge
 By any desperate change My more particular,
 And that which most with you should save my going, 55
 Is Fulvia's death.

Cleo Though age from folly could not give me freedom,
 It does from childishness Can Fulvia die?

Ant She's dead, my queen
 Look here, and at thy sovereign leisure read 60
 The garboils she awak'd at the last, best,
 See when and where she died

Cleo O most false love!
 Where be the sacred vials thou should'st fill

53 *sick of* *purge*] ill through rest, as well as tired of it, would, etc The diseases of peace and tranquillity similarly suggest purgation (by letting blood) in 2*H*4, iv 1 54-66, e.g. lines 63-6 'But rather show awhile like fearful war, / To diet rank mounds *sick of* happiness / And *purge* the obstructions which begin to stop / Our very veins of life'

54 *My more particular*] what is more especially my own affair Cf iv ix 20 *post*, and *Troil*, ii 1 9 'As far as toucheth *my particular*'

55 *safe my going*] make you feel secure in letting me go See iv vi 26, and note

58 *It does die*] a mere expression of incredulity, to which it would be needless to draw attention if Steevens and Malone had not shown that it could be mistaken

61 *garboils*] tumults, commotions, from the old French *garboul* Cf ii 11 67 *post* The word occurs fairly often See Steevens's instances in 1821 Variorum, and Collier's in a note to Barry's *Ram Alley* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, x 287), also *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, v 1 52 (Hazlitt's *Webster*, iv, p 287) 'these sweating *garbolds*', *Manningham's Diary*, p 147 (Camden Society, 1868) 'There was a diligent watch and ward kept to prevent *garboiles*', Drayton, *The Harmonie of the*

Church (Percy Society, 1843), p 35 'They chose them gods, then *garboils* did within their gates abound' It occurs several times in Drayton's *Barons' Wars*

at the last, best] Surely this means that the cream of the correspondence is in the part to which her attention is last directed—possibly also the last part of a letter—and consists of convincing intelligence of Fulvia's death Steevens, however, perceives a 'conjugal tribute to the memory of Fulvia,' comparing *Mac*, i iv 7-8 'nothing in his life / Became him like the leaving it', while Boswell interprets 'her death was the *best* thing I have known of her, as it checked her garboils'

† The F punctuation, with comma (not semicolon) after 'best', supports Case's interpretation and makes Boswell's almost impossible [R]

63 *vials*] 'Alluding,' says Johnson, 'to the lachrymatory vials, or bottles of tears, which the Romans sometimes put into the urn of a friend' That the vials found in tombs were so employed is now considered very doubtful It has been maintained that they really held unguents Theobald (and later Steevens) refers to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, i v 4 'Balms, and gums, and heavy cheers, / Sacred *vials* fill'd with tears' In Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, i v

With sorrowful water? Now I see, I see,
In Fulvia's death, how mine receiv'd shall be 65

Ant Quarrel no more, but be prepar'd to know
The purposes I bear, which are, or cease,
As you shall give the advice By the fire
That quickens Nilus' slime, I go from hence
Thy soldier, servant, making peace or war, 70
As thou affects

Cleo Cut my lace, Charmian, come,
But let it be, I am quickly ill, and well,
So Antony loves

Ant My precious queen, forbear,
And give true evidence to his love, which stands
An honourable trial

71 affects] *F*, affectst *F2* and many *edd*

736, the walls of the house of Repentance are hung with 'crystal vials of repentant tears', and, similarly, Death's cave, 'In bottles tears of friends and Louers vaine,' in Peacham's *Period of Mourning* (1613), Vision III See also Angel Day, *The English Secretarie* (1599), pt 1, 125 'I have prepared a golden boxe whereim I mean to consecrate all the teares you shed for that accident, to *Berecynthia* the beladme of the Gods, as a relique of your great kinship and curtesie'

68 *By the fire*] i.e. the sun Steevens prefixed *Now* to satisfy his ear, quoting *John*, II 1 397 'Now by the sky,' etc The metrical value of the marked pause (see Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, §508) was not yet appreciated

71 affects] choosest

Cut my lace] however inappropriate to Cleopatra's unfettered beauty, the first thought, under emotion, real or pretended, of the coarser female character in old plays See Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, pt 1 (*Works*, Pearson, II 30) 'Fie, fie, *cut my lace*, good servant, I shall ha' the mother presently, I'm so vext,' etc , Webster, *Northward Hoe*! II 1 (*Works*, Hazlitt, I 200) 'Doll O, I shall burst, if I *cut not my lace*, I'm so vext!'

72-3 *I So Antony loves*] I am no sooner ill than well again, provided Antony loves In thus withdrawing the threat of hysterics implied in 'Cut my lace', etc , Cleopatra seems to angle for some convincing evidence of love, which Antony's reply does not afford to her satisfaction The words are less likely to refer to what precedes, viz the sworn devotion of lines 68-71, it did not prevent the threat, and probably no admission of its force as a proof of love is involved in the words of withdrawal Steevens, Capell, and several editors interpret differently, making *so* = thus, and punctuating accordingly, with sense 'Antony's love is as fluctuating and uncertain as my health' I have not seen it proposed to make *so* refer wholly to Antony's purpose, disconnecting it altogether from line 72 In that case it would mean 'Thus, then, is your love for me'

74 *give evidence*] bear true witness The Collier MS corrector substitutes *credence* for *evidence*, and *audience* has been proposed by L. Campbell, but the phrase as it stands has the right ring, and the 'witness' is probably the testimony of being composed and well

- Cleo* So Fulvia told me 75
 I prithee turn aside and weep for her,
 Then bid adieu to me, and say the tears
 Belong to Egypt Good now, play one scene
 Of excellent dissembling, and let it look
 Like perfect honour
- Ant* You'll heat my blood no more
- Cleo* You can do better yet, but this is meetly 81
- Ant* Now, by my sword,—
- Cleo* And target Still he mends
 But this is not the best Look, prithee, Charmian,
 How this Herculean Roman does become
 The carriage of his chafe 85
- Ant* I'll leave you, lady
- Cleo* Courteous lord, one word
 Sir, you and I must part, but that's not it
 Sir, you and I have lov'd, but there's not it,
 That you know well, something it is I would,—
 O, my oblivion is a very Antony, 90
 And I am all forgotten

80 blood no more] *Rowe* (semicolons), blood no more? *F* 82 my] *F*2, not in *F*

78 to *Egypt*] 'To me, the Queen of Egypt' (Johnson) See line 41 *ante*, and note

Good now] 'please you,' as in *Ham*, 1.1.70

80 *You'll heat*] †*Rowe's* punctuation will no doubt serve well enough It leaves Antony saying 'You'll make me lose my temper Enough of this' But the *F* question mark is obstinately there, and I think it is tempting to transfer the 'no more', retaining the question mark, to Cleopatra, who thus says, in reply to Antony's 'You'll make me lose my temper,' 'Is that the best you can do by way of retort? You can do better than that, though you've made quite a good start' [R]

81 *meetly*] reasonably well Not elsewhere in Shakespeare

82 *And target*] 'making it a swash-

buckler's oath, cf *1H4*, 1.iii.230' (Dover Wilson)

84 *Herculean*] as descended from Anton, son of Hercules See extracts from North's *Plutarch*, *post*, p. 241, and cf *iv* *xii* 44 *post*

84-5 *How chafe*] How he becomes, or lends grace to, his furious bearing There is still some allusion to playing a part Staunton is unwarrantably positive that *chafe* is 'a silly blunder of the transcriber or compositor for *chief* [the reading in his text], meaning Hercules, the head or principal of the house of Antonii'

90-1 *O, my oblivion forgotten*] my 'oblivious memory' is as faithless as Antony, and, like him, has forgotten my power over it 'Oblivious memory' is Steevens's phrase, but it is unnecessary to follow him in further, taking here 'I am all forgotten' as = 'I forget

Ant

But that your royalty
Holds idleness your subject, I should take you
For idleness itself

Cleo

'Tis sweating labour,
To bear such idleness so near the heart
As Cleopatra this But sir, forgive me, 95
Since my becomings kill me, when they do not
Eye well to you Your honour calls you hence,
Therefore be deaf to my unpitied folly,
And all the gods go with you! Upon your sword
Sit laurel victory, and smooth success 100
Be strew'd before your feet!

Ant

Let us go Come,
Our separation so abides and flies,

100 laurel] *F* (Lawrell), Lawrell'd *F2* and some *edd*

everything,' much like the sense in 'How comes it, Michael, you are thus forgot?' (*Oth*, II iii 190) It seems to mean, not 'I am all forgetful,' but 'I am every way forgotten,' viz by Antony and my own faculties (†surely it means both [R]) Marston, however, who imitates Shakespeare here and there in *The Insatiate Countess*, has in that play, IV ii 67-8 'Thy intellectual powers oblivion smothers, / That thou art nothing but forgetfulness'

91-3 *But that itself*] Under the surface meaning—which contains its own rebuke—that Cleopatra can't be both queen and subject, or might be taken for a personification of idleness or trifling, possibly lies the insinuation 'Were you not liege lady of trifling, and able to make her serve (or command her arts for) your purposes, I should take you, etc Malone suggests something like this last, and it is substantially the explanation preferred by Clarke and Rolfe With *idleness*, Steevens compares Webster, *Vittoria Corombona*, IV i 114, where Francisco, taking Isabella's ghost to be the product of his imagination, and having asked, 'How cam'st thou by thy death?' continues 'how idle am I / To question mine own

idleness!' His own best interpretation is 'holds *idleness* in subjection to you, exalting you far above its influence'

96 *Since my becomings*, etc.] I see here the expression of feelings hurt by Antony's cold answer to the sudden and emotional conversion from mockery to pathos in lines 86-91 Cleopatra says, in effect 'I have done, even the regrets, the emotion, the fears that become me at such a time, I repress, since it is anguish to me to displease you' The usual explanation of *becomings* is, however, 'graces' Steevens suspected in the word an allusion to Antony's phrase in I i 49 *ante*

99-100 *Upon victory*] Cf *Edward III*, III iii 190 'Be still adorn'd with laurel victory,' which confirms the reading, *laurel*, of *F*, as do similar cases of noun as adjective, e.g. 'the honey of his music vows' (*Ham*, III i 165) For the figure cf *Tryall of Chevalry*, 1605, 'Successful action sit upon thy sword' (Bullen's *Old Plays*, III 333, where other examples are given), also *Selimus*, 1594 (ed Grosart, line 2447) 'And white-wing'd victory sits on our swords'

102-4 *Our separation thee*] Their separation is said to *abide* as resulting

That thou, residing here, goes yet with me,
 And I, hence fleeting, here remain with thee
 Away! [Exeunt 105

[SCENE IV — *Rome Cæsar's house*]

*Enter OCTAVIUS reading a letter, LEPIDUS,
 and their Train*

Cæs You may see, Lepidus, and henceforth know,
 It is not Cæsar's natural vice to hate
 Our great competitor From Alexandria
 This is the news he fishes, drinks, and wastes
 The lamps of night in revel, is not more manlike 5
 Than Cleopatra, nor the queen of Ptolemy
 More womanly than he hardly gave audience, or
 Vouchsaf'd to think he had partners You shall find there
 A man who is the abstract of all faults
 That all men follow

Lep I must not think there are 10
 Evils enow to darken all his goodness

103 goes] *F*, goest *F2*, *Rowe*, go'st *Capell* and others

Scene iv

3 Our] *Singer* (*Heath and Johnson cony*), One *F* 8 Vouchsaf'd] *Johnson*,
 vouchsafe *F*, did vouchsafe *F2* 9 abstract] *F2*, abstracts *F*

from Cleopatra's abode in Egypt, and to fly, as resulting from Antony's fleeting thence With the conceit in the whole sentence, cf *Mucedorus*, I i 12 'tis from the realm, not thee / Though lands part bodies, hearts keep company', and Donne's famous poem, *A Valediction Forbidding Mourning* Steevens quotes Sidney's *Arcadia*, bk 1 (see lines 169-70 of the poem at its close), as possibly having suggested the thought to Shakespeare 'She went, they staid, or rightly, for to say, / She staid in them, they went in thought with her'

Scene iv

3 competitor] here, as often, partner, associate Cf II vii 69 post, and *R3*, IV iv 505 'And every hour more competitors / Flock to the rebels,' etc See also

the quotation on I i 12, 'triple pillar' 4-33 he fishes, drinks, etc] With the charges in these speeches, cf North, post, pp 248-9, 241, 245

6 queen of Ptolemy] Cleopatra was nominally married by Cæsar to the younger of her two brothers of that name, a mere child, whom she is said to have made away with by poison Cf *Egypt's widow*, II i 37 post

9-10 is the abstract follow] exhibits in himself, and in their highest degree, all the faults of mankind In respect of faults, he is, like Dryden's Zimri (*Absalom and Achitophel*, I 546) 'Not one, but all mankind's epitome' Cf Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass*, IV iv 245 'The top of woman! all her sex in abstract', Massinger, *The City Madam*, III III 'Heaven's abstract or epitome'

His faults, in him, seem as the spots of heaven,
 More fiery by night's blackness, hereditary,
 Rather than purchas'd, what he cannot change,
 Than what he chooses

15

Cæs You are too indulgent Let's grant it is not

Amiss to tumble on the bed of Ptolemy,
 To give a kingdom for a mirth, to sit
 And keep the turn of tippling with a slave,
 To reel the streets at noon, and stand the buffet
 With knaves that smells of sweat say this becomes
 him,—

20

As his composure must be rare indeed

16 Let's] *F*, Let us *Pope and edd*

21 smells] *F* (smels), smell *Fz*

12-13 *His faults* *blackness*] His faults are made more conspicuous by his goodness, as the stars by night's blackness. The simile aims only at force of contrast, disregarding correspondence of quality in the things compared, *faults* and *stars*, *goodness* and *blackness*. It is otherwise in *Ham*, v 11 266-8, as Malone indicates 'in mine ignorance / Your skill shall, like a star / The darkest night, / Stick fiery off indeed' Quarles, in *The Author's Dream*, compares his sins to the stars in brightness 'My Sins are like the Stars within the Skies, / In view, in number, ev'n as bright, as great,' etc With *spots of heaven*, cf. Peele, *Edward I*, sc 11, line 74 'The welkin, spangled through with golden spots,' etc

14 *purchas'd*] acquired, as commonly Cf. Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller*, II, p. 253, line 2 'With him we travelled along, having *purchast* his acquaintance a little before' The legal origin of the use is played upon in the following passage from Shirley's *Love Tricks*, III v (*Works*, 1833, I, pp. 54-5) 'got a great estate of wealth by gaming and wenching, and so *purchas'd* unhappily this state of damnation you see me in *Inför* Came you in it by *purchase*? then you do not claim it by your father's interest as an heir' etc See Cowell's *Interpreter* (ed. Man-

ley, 1684, s v) 'it signifieth the buying of Lands or Tenements with Money, or by any other Agreement, and not the obtaining of it by descent,' etc

18 *a mirth*] So Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, III 11 95 'made it [danger] but *a mirth*'

20 *stand the buffet*] So in *1H4*, III 11 66 'To laugh at glibing boys and *stand the push* / Of every beardless vain comparative' Cf. also the whole passage, and see Intro, ante, p. xxx-xxx1

21 *smells*] The old Northern plural (?) in *s* is extremely common, occurring in all kinds of writers, and often, as here, in *F* Cf. line 49 *post*, *Tp*, III 11 2, 'bones akes', *Mer V*, III 11 18, 'times Puts,' and quotation in note on *rv* xiv 76-7 *post*

22 *As his composure*] Composure = composition, as in *Troil*, II 11 254, Brome, *A Mad Couple*, etc., *rv* 1 (*Works*, Pearson, p. 63) 'hee is of so sweete a *Composure*,' etc For *As* Johnson proposed to read *And* but the inconsequence he detected is more apparent than real, as the inference in *As* is from the idea of an untarnishable Antony involved in 'say this becomes him' The whole equals Grant he is a prodigy, as prodigy he must be to carry off such faults Dr Ingleby's account of the use of *as* in this and other passages will be found in II 11 53 *post*, but can,

Whom these things cannot blemish,—yet must Antony
 No way excuse his foils, when we do bear
 So great weight in his lightness If he fill'd 25
 His vacancy with his voluptuousness,
 Full surfeits, and the dryness of his bones
 Call on him for't But to confound such time,
 That drums him from his sport, and speaks as loud
 As his own state, and ours,—'tis to be chid 30
 As we rate boys, who being mature in knowledge,

24 foils] *F* (foyles), soils *Malone*
 chid, *Hanmer*, *Johnson*

30 chid] *F*, chid *Capell* and most *edd* ,

I think, be dispensed with in the present case at least

24 *foils*] The retention of *foils* in the text seems inevitably to follow the evidence of *OED* as to the sense disgrace, stigma, with mixture of the sense of the verb *foil* = to foul, etc. The quotation there given from Porter, *Angry Women of Abingdon* (Percy Soc.), 26, 'It hath set a foyle upon thy fame,' is precisely apt and unmistakable. 'And it [a fault] hath set a foil upon thy fame, / Not as the foil doth grace the diamond' (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vii 288). Equally with *Malone's* otherwise probable *soils*, *foils* agrees with the defiling pursuits just detailed, and no longer merely depends on Collier's explanation as the vices 'which foil or defeat' Antony's virtues, or on Schmidt's citation of *Tp*, iii 1 46, for the sense 'blemish' or again on the possibility that Cæsar—who has just granted, for argument's sake, that Antony's faults may become him—might refer to them as the foils of his virtues, as Lepidus makes the virtues set off his faults, and as Prince Hal (*1H4*, i 11 234-7) makes his 'fault' the 'foil' to set off his reformation.

24-5 when *lightness*] when 'his trifling levity throws so much burden upon us' (*Johnson*)

26 *vacancy*] similarly used for leisure by Heywood, *GYNAIKEION* (1624), p 318 'Neither remember I, O king, that Agamemnon, in all the time

of the tenne yeeres siege of Troy had such *vacancie* as thou hast now to prie into the Boothes of his soulders,' etc.

28 *Call on him for 't*] insist on a reckoning for it Cf Braithwaite, *Nature's Embassie* (1621), Satire 11, st 2, of the deferred wrath of Nature 'Though she delay assure thee she will *call*, / And thou must pay both vse and principall' *OED* quotes the passage under 'To impeach, challenge', adding '1740 *Chesterfield* Lett J, clx 295 'You *call* upon me for the partiality of an author to his own works,' and another late passage

confound] See on i 1 45 *ante*

31-3 *As we rate*, etc.] Such conduct merits the scolding we give boys, who being old enough to know better, gratify their present desires against their judgment. Non-existent difficulties have been found here. *Hanmer* read (and *Warburton* accepted) *immature*, offended at the idea of maturity in connection with boys. *Daniel* conjectures *he's to be chid who Pawns his to his rebels*. If we are to press the meaning in *Pawn*, it is possible to say that experience (which gives foreknowledge of consequences) is pledged to pleasure in the sense that it must be redeemed, or reinforced, by the undergoing of the foreseen consequences of pleasure, but I doubt if the thought goes beyond the necessity of parting with the valuable, the guidance of experience, for the occasion

Pawn their experience to their present pleasure,
And so rebel to judgment

Enter a Messenger

- Lep* Here's more news
Mess Thy biddings have been done, and every hour,
 Most noble Cæsar, shalt thou have report 35
 How 'tis abroad Pompey is strong at sea,
 And it appears he is belov'd of those
 That only have fear'd Cæsar to the ports
 The discontents repair, and men's reports
 Give him much wrong'd
Cæs I should have known no less,
 It hath been taught us from the primal state 41
 That he which is was wish'd, until he were,
 And the ebb'd man, ne'er lov'd till ne'er worth love,
 Comes dear'd, by being lack'd This common body,
 Like to a vagabond flag upon the stream, 45

44 dear'd] *Theobald* (*Warburton*), fear'd *F*

cf Braithwaite, *Strappado for the Duell*, 1615 (1878 repr., p. 291) 'oh why should we, / To get a little sport, pause modesty?' †But as to rate Mr J. C. Maxwell makes the interesting suggestion that it here means 'estimate'—1 c 'In the same way that we count as mere boys those men who, being', The *F* colon after *child* helps it [R]

36-47 Pompey, etc.] Cf 111 181-90, 111 45-52 ante

39 *The discontents*] the discontented, or malcontents, as in 1*H*₄, v 1 76 Similar instances of the abstract for the concrete occur in 111 47 post *Lr*, 111 24, etc Cf *Edward III*, 111 111 156 'For what's this Edward but a belly-god, / A tender and lascivious wantonness,' etc

40 Give him] represent him as, as in *Cor*, 1 ix 55, Shirley, *The Wedding*, v (Works, 1833, 1 441) 'my nephew gives you valiant,' etc

41 from the primal state] since government began

42 That he were] that the man in power was always the popular candidate for it till, and only till, he obtained it Cæsar glances at his own loss of popular favour

43 ebb'd man] Copley uses a similar figure in *A Fig for a Fortune*, 1596, p. 6 'What booteth it to live A muddie ebbe after a Chrystall flood?'

44 Comes dear'd] becomes endeared Collier (1843) retained fear'd, but reads lov'd in his second edition, with the Collier MS Cf *Cor*, iv 1 15 'I shall be loved when I am lack'd' Knight retains fear'd on the ground that the notions of fear and love are almost synonymous in the mind of one who aims at supreme power But the messenger's distinction between these notions in lines 37-8 confirms the emendation Cf 111 183-5 ante

This common body] the common people

45 flag] a common species of iris

Goes to, and back, lackeying the varying tide,
To rot itself with motion

Enter a second Messenger

Mess Cæsar, I bring thee word,
Menecrates and Menas, famous pirates,
Makes the sea serve them, which they ear and wound
With keels of every kind Many hot inroads 50
They make in Italy, the borders maritime
Lack blood to think on't, and flush youth revolt
No vessel can peep forth, but 'tis as soon
Taken as seen, for Pompey's name strikes more
Than could his war resisted

Cæs Antony, 55

46 lackeying] lacquying *Theobald* (*Anon MS*), lacking *F* 47 S D Enter]
Capell, not in *F*

46 *lackeying*] The servility of popular favour is united with its instability by Theobald's reading Pope's was *lashing* For the use of the verb, Steevens quotes, among other passages, Chapman's *Homer Iliad*, xxiv [ed. Shepherd, 1875, p. 285] 'I could wish thy grave affairs did need / My guide to Argos, either shipp'd, or *lackeying* by thy side,' etc

47 Enter] † *F* has no S D and so attributes *Cæsar, I bring* to the messenger who has already come But I have little doubt that Capell (supported by Steevens) was right in thinking that we must have a second messenger Quite apart from the expectation of a series of messengers created by 'every hour shalt thou have report' (lines 34-5), the opening 'Cæsar, I bring thee word,' natural in the mouth of a second messenger, is awkward as no more than the introduction to a second item of news from the same messenger who has already addressed Cæsar, and Cæsar's seven lines of philosophic comment are equally awkward if they interrupt the delivery of a piece of news, though natural enough if they follow a report

which has clearly terminated [R]
48 *Menecrates pirates*] See North, *post*, p. 251

49 *Makes*] See on line 21 *ante*, ear, plough Cf 1 ii 108 *ante*

52 *flush*] lusty, full of vigour Cf *Ham*, iii iii 81 'As *flush* as May' *OED* gives further examples of a derived sense, 'self-confident,' 'self-conceited,' and it is interesting to note also here another *flush*, of uncertain etymology and dialectal, = fledged

54-5 *Pompey's name resisted*]

† The commentators are mostly silent, but I do not find this so obvious as the silence suggests it should be If 'war resisted' = 'resistance to his armed forces' (as 'Cæsar interfectus' can mean 'the death of Cæsar'), then the whole means 'His mere name causes you more loss than armed resistance would' But if we take 'resisted' as conditional, it means 'His mere name is more effective than his armed forces would be, if only you opposed them' I do not think the two meanings are identical, but perhaps I am merely nosing out difficulty where there is none [R]

Leave thy lascivious wassails When thou once
 Was beaten from Modena, where thou slew'st
 Hirtius and Pansa, consuls, at thy heel
 Did famine follow, whom thou fought'st against,
 Though daintily brought up, with patience more 60
 Than savages could suffer Thou didst drink
 The stale of horses, and the gilded puddle
 Which beasts would cough at thy palate then did deign
 The roughest berry, on the rudest hedge,
 Yea, like the stag, when snow the pasture sheets, 65
 The barks of trees thou browsed On the Alps
 It is reported thou didst eat strange flesh,
 Which some did die to look on and all this—
 It wounds thine honour that I speak it now—
 Was borne so like a soldier, that thy cheek 70
 So much as lank'd not

56 wassails] *Pope*, *Vassalles F, F2*, *Vassalls F3*, *Vassals F4* 57 Was] *F*,
Wast Steevens (1778) and *edd*, *Wert F2* 66 browsed] *brows'd F*, *browsed'st*
F2

56 *wassails*] Carousals attended with lust are naturally contrasted with the scant and repulsive diet, and severe hardships stoically endured, which the next lines describe. Some, however, prefer the old reading *vassals*, to which alone, and not to 'drunken revelry' (*wassails*), Knight unaccountably considers the epithet *lascivious* appropriate.

57 *Modena*] accented on second syllable (as also by the Countess of Pembroke in *Antonie*, Act III), whereas Italian, 'Módena', Latin, 'Mutina'. For the whole passage, to line 71, see North, *post*, p. 243.

59 *whom*] Abbott (*Shakespearean Grammar*, §264) shows that *who* stands for irrational antecedents where there is any approach to personification, but adds that *whom* is rare, comparing *Tp*, III III 62 'the elements / Of *whom*,' etc.

61 *Than suffer*] explicable, I think, as a case of cognate accusative, and = 'Than that which savages could suffer'. For the thought, cf. D'Avenant, *Gondibert*, II II 25 'Still I

have fought, as if in Beauty's sight, / Outsuffer'd patience, bred in Captives Breasts,' etc. It is usually taken as an instance of omission to repeat the preposition in relative sentences (see Abbott, *Shakespearean Grammar*, §394) and = 'Than savages could suffer *with*,' or 'Than that with which,' etc.

62 *gilded*] overspread with iridescent scum, 'filthy-mantled', as in *Tp*, IV I 182.

63 *deign*] not disdain.

66 *The barks brows'd*] So Nashe, in *Christ's Tears*, II, p. 70, line 2 'All the bushes and boughes, within or rounde about Ierusalem, were hewd down and feld, for men (like brute beasts) to brouse on', Browne, *Britania's Pastorals*, bk. II (1616), Song 1 663-7 'As in a forest well complete with deer / We see the hollies, ashes, everywhere / Robb'd of their clothing by the browsing game / So near the rock all trees where'er you [1 e. Limos or Famine] came, / To cold December's wrath stood void of bark'.

71 *lank'd*] grew thin.

- Lep* 'Tis pity of him
Cæs Let his shames quickly
 Drive him to Rome, 'tis time we twain
 Did show ourselves i' the field, and to that end
 Assemble we immediate council, Pompey 75
 Thrives in our idleness
- Lep* To-morrow, Cæsar,
 I shall be furnish'd to inform you rightly
 Both what by sea and land I can be able
 To front this present time
- Cæs* Till which encounter,
 It is my business too Farewell 80
- Lep* Farewell, my lord, what you shall know meantime
 Of stirs abroad, I shall beseech you, sir,
 To let me be partaker
- Cæs* Doubt not, sir,
 I know it for my bond [Exeunt

[SCENE V — *Alexandria Cleopatra's palace*]*Enter* CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, IRAS, and MARDIAN

- Cleo* Charmian!
Char Madam?
Cleo Ha, ha!
 Give me to drink mandragora

75 *we*] *F2*, *me F* 84 *know*] *Walker*, *knew F*

75 *Assemble we*] *we*, the reading of *F2*, sorts with *we twain*, line 73, and *our*, line 76, as well as with the fact that, as Malone says, Cæsar is addressing an equal *Me* is retained by one or two editors, among whom Knight thinks 'the commentators forget Cæsar's contempt for Lepidus and the crouching humility of Lepidus himself' Neither of these ascribed qualities appears in this scene

78 *what I can be able*] what my powers can be

79 *front*] face, confront Cf *2H4*, iv 1 25 'What well-appointed leader

fronts us here?" See also ii 11 61 *post*
 84 *I know bond*] † I recognize it as part of my engagements *F's knew* is no doubt possible, in the sense 'I knew what my commitments were when we came to our original agreement (and have not forgotten them since)' but the emendation is graphically easy, and attractive [R]

Scene v

3 *Ha, ha!*] 'A yawn of ennui' (Kittredge)

4 *mandragora*] the juice of mandragora or mandrake, a plant with strong

- Char* Why, madam?
Cleo That I might sleep out this great gap of time 5
 My Antony is away
Char You think of him too much
Cleo O, 'tis treason!
Char Madam, I trust not so
Cleo Thou, eunuch Mardian!
Mar What's your highness' pleasure?
Cleo Not now to hear thee sing I take no pleasure
 In aught an eunuch has 'tis well for thee 10
 That, being unseminar'd, thy freer thoughts
 May not fly forth of Egypt Hast thou affections?
Mar Yes, gracious madam
Cleo Indeed?
Mar Not in deed, madam, for I can do nothing 15
 But what indeed is honest to be done
 Yet have I fierce affections, and think
 What Venus did with Mars
Cleo O Charmian!
 Where think'st thou he is now? Stands he, or sits he?
 Or does he walk? or is he on his horse? 20
 O happy horse to bear the weight of Antony!

5 time] *Roue* (time.), time *F* 8 Thou, eunuch] *F*, Thou eunuch, *Pope*

narcotic qualities 'The juice thereof with woman's milk laid to the temples maketh to sleep, yea though it were in the most hot ague' (*Bartholomew* [Berthelet], bk xvii, §104) Cf *Oth*, iii iii 330 'Not poppy, nor mandragora, / Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world, / Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep / Which thou ow'dst yesterday' *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife*, etc., iii ii (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix 48) 'in this paper is / The juice of mandrake, by a doctor made / To cast a man, whose leg should be cut off, / Into a deep, a cold, and senseless sleep, / Of such approved operation / That whoso takes it, is for twice twelve hours, / Breathless, and to all men's judgments past all sense', etc

9-12 *Not now* affections?]
 † Mardian is the official singer, cf ii

v 2 S D 'Tis well for thee that means, I think, not 'it's just as well for you that ' (1 e 'you escape blame because ' Cleopatra-like remark though that would be), but 'you are happy in that ' Cleopatra is, or pretends to be, congratulating him on his sexless immunity from desire, when her own 'freer', and far from unsexed, thoughts are flying with passionate longing to Rome (cf line 21, to bear the weight, a characteristic, purely physical, touch) Affections is nearer to 'passions' or 'desires' than our modern sense [R]

16 *honest*] in the restricted sense of 'chaste', cf *Wiv*, iv ii 110, 'Wives may be merry, and yet *honest* too'

18 *What Venus*] Venus, wife of Vulcan, was Mars' paramour, and Vulcan trapped them in the act.

Do bravely, horse, for wot'st thou whom thou mov'st,
 The demi-Atlas of this earth, the arm
 And burgonet of men He's speaking now,
 Or murmuring, 'Where's my serpent of old Nile?' 25
 For so he calls me Now I feed myself
 With most delicious poison Think on me,
 That am with Phœbus' amorous pinches black,
 And wrinkled deep in time Broad-fronted Cæsar,
 When thou wast here above the ground, I was 30
 A morsel for a monarch and great Pompey
 Would stand and make his eyes grow in my brow,
 There would he anchor his aspect, and die
 With looking on his life

Enter ALEXAS from Antony

Alex Sovereign of Egypt, hail!
Cleo How much unlike art thou Mark Antony! 35

29 time] *F*, time? *Capell* 34 S D from Antony] *Collier MS*, from *Cæsar*
F

23-4 *arm And burgonet*] †I suppose we must be content, as most commentators seem to be, to take this as meaning simply 'the complete soldier', equipped both for offence with his own strong arm, and for defence with the most efficient helmet yet devised. But it seems something of an anticlimax after 'the demi-Atlas', and it is difficult to feel happy about it [R]

24 *burgonet*] a helmet of Burgundian invention, whence its name 'It was so fitted to the gorget that the head moved freely, without producing a chink through which an enemy might pierce the neck' So Morley, on stanza 82, canto vi of Drayton's *Barons' War* (1887 ed.)

27-9 *Think time*] †Capell's question mark (adopted by both Case and Dover Wilson) is not wholly convincing. It makes Antony, rather awkwardly, the subject of *think*. *F* makes Cleopatra address Charmian, 'it's me that he loves, in spite of my wrinkles,'

and then she goes on, characteristically, to say that it is not so surprising after all, considering her other conquests. But it is true that *think on* often means 'to think kindly of,' as in *Cor*, II III 61 and 196 [R]

28 *amorous pinches*] †Cf V II 294, 'The stroke of death is as a lover's pinch.' She includes both the sun and death among her lovers [R]

29 *Broad-fronted*] obviously, 'with a broad forehead' Henley and Singer fancy there is an allusion to Cæsar's baldness, and Seward proposed *bald-fronted Cæsar*. See on II VI 68-70 *post*, and North, *post*, p 246, for his intrigue with Cleopatra

31 *great Pompey*] Cneius, son of Pompey the Great, as in III XIII 118 *post*, q v, and North, *post*, p 246. The epithet is misleading

33 *anchor his aspect*] Cf *Sonn* cxxxvii 6 'If eyes corrupt by over partial looks / Be anchored in the bay where all men ride,' etc., and *Meas*, II IV 4

Yet coming from him, that great med'cine hath
 With his tinct gilded thee
 How goes it with my brave Mark Antony?

Alex Last thing he did, dear queen,
 He kiss'd—the last of many doubled kisses— 40
 This orient pearl His speech sticks in my heart

Cleo Mine ear must pluck it thence

Alex 'Good friend,' quoth he,
 'Say the firm Roman to great Egypt sends
 This treasure of an oyster, at whose foot
 To mend the petty present, I will piece 45

40 kiss'd—the kisses—] *Theobald* (substantially), kist the kisses *F*

36-7 *great med'cine thee*] The terms the medicine or great medicine, tinct or tincture, were applied by the alchemists to the supreme result of their labours, regarded rather as the agent for transmuting metals than the elixir to renew youth. See *All's W*, v 11 102 'That knows the tinct and multiplying medicine', Donne, *Resurrection* (Nonesuch Donne, ed Hayward, p 290) 'He was all gold when he lay down, but rose / All tincture, and doth not alone dispose / Leaden and iron wills to good,' etc., Jonson, *The Alchemist*, *passim*, but especially ii 1 37 *et seq*, 'But when you see th' effects of the *great med'cine*,' etc. In the text, as in *Tp*, v 1 280, where a similar allusion underlies the expressed cause and effect of drunkenness 'where should they / Find this grand liquor that hath gilded them?' the effect is but external. Tincture is often used for a mere surface deposit, so Lord Brooke, 'An Inquisition vpon Fame and Honovr', 10 (*Works*, ed Grosart, ii 70) 'Goodnesse puts only tincture on our gall', on which the editor observes 'Tincture was supposed to turn the basest metal into gold. *Supra*, it means a golden covering as of a pill in medicine'. Walker (*Critical Examination of the Text of Shakespeare*, 1860) suggests *medicine* possibly = physician, as it may possibly in *All's W*, ii 1 75

41 *orient*] bright, lustrous *Pearl* and

this epithet were almost inseparable. Cf 'What a sight would it be to embrace one whose haire were as orient as the pearle' (Lyly, *Endimion*, v 11 95) 'to make a pearl more pure / We give it to a dove, in whose womb pent / Some time, we have it forth most orient' (Wm Browne, *An Elegy on Sir Thomas Overbury*, etc., lines 26-8). *OED* says the epithet is applied to pearls 'as coming anciently from the East,' and cites 1555 Eden *Decades* 39 'Many of these perles were as bygge as hasell nuttes, and oriente (as we caule it), that is, lyke unto them of the Easte partes'. *Pearl of Orient* = orient pearl, oriental pearl (*OED*) also supports this, but a quotation supplied by Mr Craig shows that another derivation was current. Harrison, *Description of England*, bk iii, chap 1 (New Shakes Soc, ed Furnivall, pt 1, p 80) 'They [pearls] are called orient because of the cleerenesse which resemblth the colour of the cleere air before the rising of the sun'

43 *firm*] constant

45 *piece*] *To piece* can mean to make additions to as well as simply to mend. See Earle's *Microcosmographie*, 1628, *A young rawe Preacher* 'He has more tricks with a sermon, than a Tailor with an old cloak, to turne it, and piece it,' etc., Lyly's *Campaspe*, iv 1 12 'He hath found *Dedalus* old waxen wings, and hath beene peecing them this moneth, he is so broad in the

Her opulent throne with kingdoms All the east,
 (Say thou) shall call her mistress ' So he nodded
 And soberly did mount an arm-gaunt steed,
 Who neigh'd so high, that what I would have spoke
 Was beastly dumb'd by him

Cleo What, was he sad, or merry?

Alex Like to the time o' the year between the extremes 51
 Of hot and cold, he was nor sad nor merry

Cleo O well-divided disposition! Note him,
 Note him, good Charmian, 'tis the man, but note him
 He was not sad, for he would shine on those 55
 That make their looks by his, he was not merry,
 Which seem'd to tell them, his remembrance lay
 In Egypt with his joy, but between both
 O heavenly mingle! Be'st thou sad, or merry,
 The violence of either thee becomes, 60
 So does it no man else Met'st thou my posts?

48 an arm-gaunt] an Arme gaunt *F* 50 dumb'd] *Theobald*, dumbe *F*
 What merry] What was he sad, or merry *F*, What was he, sad or merry
Furness cony 61 man] *F2*, mans *F*

shoulders', *Kyd*, *r Ieronimo*, III iv 10
 'My armes / Are of the shortest, let
 your loues peece them out' Antony will
 lay his conquests at Cleopatra's feet to
 extend her dominion

48 arm-gaunt] See App I

50 beastly dumb'd] 'Deep clerks she
 dumbs' (*Per*, v, prol 5), quoted by
 Steevens, supports this reading See
 also Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621 ed,
 p 910 (*Job Triumphant*) 'He dulls the
 Learned, dumbs the Eloquent,' etc
 Shakespeare uses *beastly* as an adverb
 in *Cym*, v iii 27, and elsewhere

What merry?] †Furness's punctu-
 ation is undeniably attractive, and
 Dover Wilson promotes it to the text
 But I do not feel very happy about it
 I fancy that the most natural Eliza-
 bethan for what it makes Cleopatra
 say would have been 'Whether was he
 sad or merry?', and the *What* followed
 by comma of most editors (precisely
 the oratorical Latin 'Quid' = 'now
 for the next point') is common Eliza-
 bethan [R]

54 but] just, only (not adversative)

56 That make his] Cf *John*,
 v 1 50 'inferior eyes / That borrow
 their behaviours from the great,' etc

59 mingle] as a noun, not elsewhere
 in Shakespeare save iv viii 37 post Cf
Poems on Several Occasions, Sir R.
 Howard, 1696, *To the Reader*, sig A4
 'the Mingle it has with my private
 Papers, was the greatest cause, that it
 received its share in the publick
 Impression'

60 The violence becomes] the com-
 pliment of 1 1 49 ante, returned

†But *violence* is an odd word to use of
 either sadness (even if here probably
 nearer to the modern use than the fre-
 quent Elizabethan meaning of 'sober-
 ness') or merriment, and even odder
 when both Alexas and Cleopatra have
 been stressing that Antony's behaviour
 has been the happy mean between two
 extremes I suppose that Cleopatra
 must be taken to mean 'Even if he had
 to run to either extreme it would still
 have become him' [R]

Alex Ay, madam, twenty several messengers
Why do you send so thick?

Cleo Who's born that day

When I forget to send to Antony,
Shall die a beggar Ink and paper, Charmian 65
Welcome, my good Alexas Did I, Charmian,
Ever love Cæsar so?

Char O that brave Cæsar!

Cleo Be chok'd with such another emphasis,
Say the brave Antony

Char The valiant Cæsar!

Cleo By Isis, I will give thee bloody teeth, 70
If thou with Cæsar paragon again
My man of men

Char By your most gracious pardon,
I sing but after you

Cleo My salad days,
When I was green in judgment, cold in blood,
To say as I said then But come, away, 75
Get me ink and paper,
He shall have every day a several greeting,
Or I'll unpeople Egypt

[*Exeunt*

65 *Shall die a beggar*] According to Deighton, she implies that the day will be so ill-fated as to carry with it such consequences. Perhaps, however, there is nothing more than a quaint way of expressing the certainty of a daily despatch.

71 *paragon*] match or compare. See note on the word in *Oth*, II 1 62 (Arden Shakespeare).

74-5 *green then*] I have restored the pointing of F. The reading generally adopted, *green in judgment, cold in blood, To then* is Warburton's, who says '*Cold in blood* is an upbraiding expostulation to her maid. "Those (says she) were my sallad days, when I was

green in judgment, but your blood is as cold as my judgment, if you have the same opinion of things now as I had then "' Boswell justly objected that *cold* as well as *green* seems 'to be suggested by the metaphor *sallad days*', but besides this, it is more probable that Cleopatra should strengthen her contention with regard to *herself*, and further, do so by adding the physical sensation to the mental attitude, than that she should break off to reproach her maid, whose judgment might be in question, but whose blood was not supposed to take its temperature from Antony. Judgment and beauty only are touched on in North, see pp 246-7

ACT II

[SCENE I — *Messina Pompey's house*]

Enter POMPEY, MENECRATES, and MENAS, in warlike manner

Pom If the great gods be just, they shall assist
The deeds of justest men

Mene Know, worthy Pompey,
That what they do delay, they not deny

Pom Whiles we are suitors to their throne, decays
The thing we sue for

Mene We, ignorant of ourselves, 5
Beg often our own harms, which the wise powers
Deny us for our good, so find we profit
By losing of our prayers

Pom I shall do well 10
The people love me, and the sea is mine,
My powers are crescent, and my auguring hope
Says it will come to the full Mark Antony
In Egypt sits at dinner, and will make
No wars without doors Cæsar gets money where

ACT II

Scene 1

3 what] *F*, which *F*₂

4-5 *Whiles sue for*] Cf Cassio in
Oth, III ii 13-18

5-8 *We prayers*] Mr Churton
Collins (*Studies in Shakespeare*, 1904,
p 29) quotes these lines as a 'terse
translation of Juvenal, *Satire* x 346-52,
not attributable to mere coincidence
But it would be surprising if the reflection
could be proved to have been any
less common in Shakespeare's time
than it is today

10 *My powers are crescent*] Cf *Ham*,
I iii 11 'For nature, *crescent*, does not

grow alone,' etc Theobald obtained
concord with the following *it* by reading
My pow'r 's a crescent Cf *MND*,
v i 248 'He is no *crescent*', but the
metaphor from the waxing moon,
which accounts for *it*, was probably a
second thought, and usage did not
forbid *it* to relate to a plural noun So
in *Tim*, III vi 102 'Who, stuck and
spangled with your flatteries, / Washes
it off,' etc

13 *No wars doors*] an allusion to
a commonplace of love poetry 'Love

He loses hearts Lepidus flatters both,
Of both is flatter'd but he neither loves,
Nor either cares for him

15

Men Cæsar and Lepidus
Are in the field, a mighty strength they carry

Pom Where have you this? 'tis false

Men From Silvius, sir

Pom He dreams I know they are in Rome together

Looking for Antony but all the charms of love,

20

Salt Cleopatra, soften thy wan'd lip!

Let witchcraft join with beauty, lust with both,

Tie up the libertine in a field of feasts,

16, 18, 38 *Men*] *Malone, Mene F*
wand F, wan Pope

21 wan'd] *Steevens, 1793 (Percy cony),*

calls to war, / Sighs his alarms, / Lips
his swords are, / The field his arms'
So Chapman, *Epithal Teratos in Hero*
and *Leander*, 5th Sestiad

15 *neither*] object of *loves* (not corre-
lative to the following *nor*)

16 *Men*] *Malone* altered *Mene*
(*Menecrates*) to *Men* for *Menas* both
here and in line 18 conjecturally, as
well as in line 38, where the context
demands the change. As he says 'It is
a matter of little consequence' *John-*
son gave all to *Menas*, observing 'I
know not why *Menecrates* appears,
Menas can do all without him'

20 *Looking for*] waiting for

21 *Salt*] lustful, as in *Meas*, v 1
402 So *D'Avenant, Albion*, iv (*Dra-*
matists of Restoration, 1 81) 'Let 'em
revel / With their salt lips / Th' other
sport is fulsome'

wan'd] In reading *wan'd* *Steevens*
does not decide between the sense
'waned, declined, gone off from its per-
fection, comparing *Cleopatra's* beauty
to the moon past the full' (*Percy*), and
that of *wanned* or *made wan*, for which
he quotes *Ham*, II 11 588, where *F* has
warm'd but *Q* *wand* 'That from her
[i e his soul's] working all his visage
wann'd' With *waned*, the more natural
and usually accepted epithet, compare
with'd in *Webster, The White Devil*,

II 1 168 'You have oft, for these two
lips, / Neglected cassia or the natural
sweets / Of the spring-violet, they are
not yet much *with'd*' *Waned* fre-
quently occurs in conjunction with
cheek, but not with lip *Steevens*
quotes (anent *wan* or *wanned*) *Beau-*
mont and *Fletcher, Queen of Corinth*
[iv 1, (Camb vi 51)] 'Now you look
wan and pale, lips, ghosts ye are'
Collier (1843) reading *wand*, suggests
wand-lip = lip potent as a wand, i e
similarly commanding enchantment,
and saw confirmation of his view in
witchcraft, next line, but *Z Jackson*
had urged all this in 1819 *Collier*
(1858) reads *wan'd*

22 *join*] *F* reads *wyne*, is this per-
haps the common *e d* error for
wynd? [*R*]

23 *Tie field of feasts*] *Mr Craig*
supplies me with the following from
A Glossary of Words in the County of
Chester by *Robert Holland* (Eng Dial
Soc, 1886, pt II) 'Tied by the tooth,
idiom, a curious expression, explain-
ing why sheep and cattle do not break
through fences, though they are bad,
because the pasture is good, which pre-
vents rambling L' The source (L) is
Col Egerton Leigh's Glossary, etc,
1877 Perhaps, as *Mr Craig* further
suggests, though *Antony* would be like

Keep his brain fuming, Epicurean cooks
Sharpen with cloyless sauce his appetite, 25
That sleep and feeding may prorogue his honour,
Even till a Lethe'd dulness—

Enter VARRIUS

How now, Varrius?

Var This is most certain, that I shall deliver
Mark Antony is every hour in Rome
Expected since he went from Egypt, 'tis 30
A space for farther travel

Pom I could have given less matter
A better ear Menas, I did not think
This amorous surfeiter would have donn'd his helm
For such a petty war his soldiership
Is twice the other twain but let us rear 35
The higher our opinion, that our stirring
Can from the lap of Egypt's widow pluck
The ne'er-lust-wearied Antony

Men

I cannot hope

an animal in such a fat pasture, the reference (if any) is merely to the large pasture fields of Shakespeare's day, in which the severally owned portions were not enclosed. The following passages from Elton's *Wm Shakespeare, his Family and Friends* (1904), are relevant. 'The rights incidental to Shakespeare's "yard-lands" comprised privileges on other people's fallows, called "hades, leys, and tyings"' (p. 142), 'The word "tyings" meant the right of tethering a horse, hobbled with a "tye" or cham, so as to graze on the neighbour's herbage' (p. 144). Deighton sees, apparently, an implied contrast in 'field of feasts', as he explains 'where he may forget all thoughts of the field of battle'.

25 *cloyless*] apparently only used here and in Hogg's *Queen's Wake* (1813), p. 251. '*Cloyless* song, the gift of heaven,' quoted by *OED*.

26-7 *prorogue* *Lethe'd dulness*] suspend the operation of his honour

till it becomes too insensible to prompt. For *prorogue* = put off, see *Rom*, II 11 78, IV 1 48. Nashe also uses the word in this sense in *The Unfortunate Traveller*, II, p. 220, line 16, and p. 325, line 1113 in the sense 'prolonged'. 'No paines I will refuse how euer *prorogued*, to have a little respite to purifie my spirit'.

30-1 *since he went travel*] There has been time enough, since he left Egypt, for him to have got further than Rome. For *space* meaning 'space of time' cf. *Lr*, V 11 54, 'To-morrow, or at further *space*'.

35-6 *rear opinion*] think more highly of ourselves.

37 *Egypt's widow*] See on I iv 6 *ante*.

38 *hope*] expect, as, e.g., in *H5*, III vii 82, and Rowley, *A Woman Never Vexed*, II (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, XII 132). 'I *hope* thou'lt vex me' Boswell cites Puttenham (*The Arte of English Poetrie*, 1589, lib. III, p. 263 in Arber's ed.) for ridicule of the word's use in this sense.

Cæsar and Antony shall well gree together
 His wife that's dead did trespasses to Cæsar, 40
 His brother warr'd upon him, although I think
 Not mov'd by Antony

Pom I know not, Menas,
 How lesser enmities may give way to greater
 Were't not that we stand up against them all,
 'Twere pregnant they should square between
 themselves, 45
 For they have entertained cause enough
 To draw their swords but how the fear of us
 May cement their divisions, and bind up
 The petty difference, we yet not know
 Be't as our gods will have't! It only stands 50
 Our lives upon to use our strongest hands
 Come, Menas [*Exeunt*

39 gree] *Furness cony*, greet *F* 41 warr'd] *F2*, wan'd *F* 43-4 greater
 Were't all.] *Rowe's pointing*, greater, Were't all, *F*

'Such manner of vncouth speech did the Tanner of Tamworth vse to king Edward the fourth, which Tanner hauing a great while mistaken him, and vsed very broad talke with him, at length perceiuing by his trame that it was the king, was afraide he should be punished for it, said thus with a certain rude repentance *I hope I shall be hanged to-morrow* For [*I feare me*] *I shall be hanged*, whereat the king laughed a good, not only to see the Tanners vaine feare, but also to heare his ill shapen terme,' etc

39 gree] †*Furness's* suggestion seems to me almost certain 'Greet together' is an awkward phrase (apparently unknown except in this passage), and a doubling of a letter is an easy error For *gree* = *agree* (a common form) see, e.g., II vi 37 [R]

45 pregnant] extremely probable, big with the consequence, one of many figurative uses of the word Cf *Oth*, II 240 'Now, sir, this granted, as it is a

most pregnant and unforced position,' etc

square] quarrel, as in *MND*, II i 30, where Mr Cuninghame cites Cotgrave, '*Se quarrel*, to strout, or square it, looke big on't, carrie his armes a-kemboll braggadochio like,' which shows how this sense became attached to the word Cf H Gifford, *A Posie of Gilloflowers*, 1580 (p 103, Grosart's repr) 'When men doe *square* for every fly, / To make them friends the women runne,' etc

48 cement] accented as commonly (*cément*) Cf Massinger, *The Unnatural Combat*, I i 'Being made up again and cemented / With a son's blood' and Donne, *The Extasie*, lines 5-6 'Our hands were firmly cimented / With a fast balme, which thence did spring'

50-1 stands Our lives upon] is a matter of life and death, cf *Err*, IV i 68, 'Consider how it stands upon my credit' The more usual sense is *be incumbent on*, as in *Ham*, V ii 63

[SCENE II — *Rome The house of Lepidus*]*Enter ENOBARBUS and LEPIDUS*

Lep Good Enobarbus, 'tis a worthy deed,
And shall become you well, to entreat your captain
To soft and gentle speech

Eno I shall entreat him
To answer like himself if Cæsar move him,
Let Antony look over Cæsar's head,
And speak as loud as Mars By Jupiter,
Were I the wearer of Antonius' beard,
I would not shave't to-day

5

Lep 'Tis not a time
For private stomaching

Eno Every time
Serves for the matter that is then born in't

10

Lep But small to greater matters must give way

Eno Not if the small come first

Lep Your speech is passion
But, pray you, stir no embers up Here comes
The noble Antony

Enter ANTONY and VENTIDIUS

Eno And yonder, Cæsar

Enter CÆSAR, MÆCENAS, and AGRIPPA

Ant If we compose well here, to Parthia

15

*Scene II*7 Antonius'] *Steevens* (1773), *Anthoimo's F*

8 *I shave't*] 1 e I would not remove the temptation to pluck or shake it, if he dare Cf *Lr*, III vii 76-7 'If you did wear a beard upon your chin, / I'd shake it in this quarrel', *Ham*, IV vii 32, etc My interpretation conflicts with the accepted one (Johnson's), which imports that the speaker would not show even Cæsar the respect of a shorn chin This is too tame for what precedes

9 *private stomaching*] indulgence of personal resentments or dislikes See

on III iv 12 *post*, and cf the verb in *Ralph Roister Doister*, IV III 34 'And where ye halfe stomaked this gentleman afore, / For this same letter, ye wyll love hym now therefore,' etc

12 *Your speech is passion*] You are letting your feelings run away with you

14-17] As Antony and Cæsar come in, by different doors, each is in brisk conversation with his own friends till interrupted by Lepidus

15 *compose*] come to an agreement,

Hark, Ventidius

Cæs I do not know,

Mæcenas ask Agrippa

Lep Noble friends,

That which combin'd us was most great, and let not

A leaner action rend us What's amiss,

May it be gently heard When we debate 20

Our trivial difference loud, we do commit

Murther in healing wounds Then, noble partners,

The rather for I earnestly beseech,

Touch you the sourest points with sweetest terms,

Nor curstness grow to the matter

Ant 'Tis spoken well 25

Were we before our armies, and to fight,

I should do thus [Flourish

Cæs Welcome to Rome

Ant Thank you

Cæs Sit

Ant Sit, sir

Cæs Nay, then

Ant I learn, you take things ill which are not so

Or being, concern you not

Cæs I must be laugh'd at, 30

If or for nothing, or a little, I

cf *composition*, II vi 58 *post*, and Johnson, *The New Inn*, iv iv 86 'Compose with them, and be not angry valiant'

17-25 *Noble friends*, etc.] 'the frendes of both parties would not suffer them to unrippe any old matters,' etc See North, *post*, p 250

21-2 *commit wounds*] A surgeon may handle trifling wounds—which would heal themselves if left alone—so clumsily as to cause death

25 *Nor curstness matter*] 'Let not ill-humour be added to the real subject of our difference' (Johnson) Cf Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, III xix (Arber's repr, p 209 [cited in *OED*]) 'With spitefull speech, *curstnesse* and crueltie', Mabbes's *Celestina*, 1631, ix (Tudor Trans, p 168)

'There is not any that can indure their tartnesse and *curstnesse*,' etc Ladies who have maid-servants are here the offenders

27 *I thus*] Some welcoming action or embrace must be understood here, unless Antony is merely asserting that his words would be temperate in any event

28 *Sit Nay, then*] †Steevens and Johnson both detected in this interchange a resentment on Antony's part at Cæsar's arrogating to himself the right to give Antony his gracious permission to be seated But surely Malone was right in seeing in it no more than an exchange of 'After you' courtesies, which Cæsar, anxious to get on with business, terminates by yielding [R]

Should say myself offended, and with you
 Chiefly I¹ the world more laugh'd at, that I should
 Once name you derogately, when to sound
 Your name it not concern'd me

Ant My being in Egypt, 35

Cæsar, what was't to you?

Cæs No more than my residing here at Rome
 Might be to you in Egypt yet if you there
 Did practise on my state, your being in Egypt
 Might be my question

Ant How intend you, practis'd? 40

Cæs You may be pleas'd to catch at mine intent
 By what did here befall me Your wife and brother
 Made wars upon me, and their contestation
 Was theme for you, you were the word of war

Ant You do mistake your business, my brother never 45

44 theme] *F*₃, theame *F*, theam'd Warburton, then (thenne) Deighton ('*Old Dramatists*', 1898)

34 *derogately*] in a detracting manner, with disparagement The sole instance of the word in *OED*

39 *practise on*] plot or intrigue against, as in *Lr*, III ii 57 Common in this and the sense 'craftily play upon,' as in *Ado*, II i 401

40 *my question*] 'my business,' a matter that I should particularly enquire into' (Beckett)

42-3 *Your wife me*] See North, *post*, p 250

44 *Was theme for you*] The sense accepted as *intended* by Shakespeare is that conveyed in Staunton's conjecture, *Had you for theme*, i.e. was about you and is also implied in Johnson's *Had theme for you* or *You were theme for*, Malone's *Was them'd from you*, and in other conjectures Malone argues the necessity of this meaning, and consequent existence of corruption, from what immediately follows If, however, we are to stand by the text, it is possible to connect *Was theme for you* with *practise* instead, making the words *You were the word of war* confirmatory or

evidential rather than explanatory, and punctuating accordingly (*F* has a comma after *for you*) In this event, Cæsar says 'By "practised" I mean that their quarrel with me supplied you with a theme to work upon, a ground for your intrigues, *witness* as *proof* the use of your name in the war' Antony deals at once and solely with the *proof* of practice (which my supposition would confine to these last words) without troubling himself to deny the *charge* of practice which depends on it Steevens quotes *Cor*, I i 226 'throw forth greater *themes* / For insurrection's arguing,' and perhaps was not far wrong in explaining our text 'Was proposed as an example for you to follow on a yet more extensive plan, as *themes* are given for a writer to dilate upon'

† After all which, is there not much to be said for Deighton's straightforward emendation? [*R*]

word of war] Cf III i 31 *post*, and *R*₃, v iii 350 'Our ancient word of courage, fair Saint George,' etc

Did urge me in his act I did inquire it,
 And have my learning from some true reports
 That drew their swords with you Did he not rather
 Discredit my authority with yours,
 And make the wars alike against my stomach, 50
 Having alike your cause? Of this, my letters
 Before did satisfy you If you'll patch a quarrel,
 As matter whole you have to make it with,

53 you have to make] *F*, you have to take *F*₂, you have not to make *Rowe*
 (you've) and most *edd*

46 *Did urge act*] represented his wars as waged in my cause, made capital of my name in the war Cf *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, II 11 55 (Hazlitt's *Webster*, IV 245) 'I trust you will not *urge me* in the matter,' where the speaker deprecates being cited as the source of certain information

47 *reports*] reporters See on *discontents*, I IV 39 *ante*

49 *Discredit*] i.e. bring into discredit, as in *Meas*, IV II 30 *with*] along with

50 *stomach*] inclination Cf *Tp*, II 1 113 'You cram these words into mine ears against / The *stomach* of my sense'

51 *Having cause*] since I had as much cause to resent them as you So I understand the words, but the usual explanation (Steevens's and Malone's) is = since I was engaged in the same cause with you

53 *As matter whole you have*] †Rowe emended *you have to you've not* and Capell to *you have not*, and almost all editors since have accepted this insertion of the negative, including Case (though in a balanced note he gave a selection of argument on the other side), and Dover Wilson (surprisingly, since in his glossary he gives a sense for *as* which seems to make needless, if not to preclude, the insertion)

The case for the retention of *F*'s reading is, I think, much simpler than one would suppose from the tortuous

ingenuity of many of the arguments used to support it. There are two crucial points, the first purely linguistic, namely, what does *as* mean in this context, the second more general, namely, what sense is demanded by the general drift of the whole passage, lines 29-98? As to *as*, there is a section in *OED sub voc* B II 8d, which is exactly apposite (more exactly, I think, than that cited by Dover Wilson, which is B I 3b) 'In antithetical or parallel clauses, introducing a known circumstance with which a hypothesis is contrasted, whereas *Hamlet*, V II 347, Had I but time (as this fell sergeant death is strick'd in his Arrest)' The *Hamlet* parallel seems to me wholly convincing. As to the more general point, Antony, if we accept this meaning of *as*, is saying in effect 'If you will insist on patching a quarrel, even when you have whole cloth to cut it from, this particular patch will not serve your turn'. And that seems to me exactly in line with Antony's general tactics in the scene, which are worth watching, and have not always been watched. He knows from the start that on one point, and one only,—the 'arms and aid' of line 88—Caesar has an irrefutable case, and on that point he is prepared to 'play the penitent'. But he would prefer to come to this main point at once, and not waste time over accusations which he can either flatly deny, or deal with by a plea of ignorance, or dismiss as trivial. It is

It must not be with this

Cæs You praise yourself,
By laying defects of judgment to me, but 55
You patch'd up your excuses

Ant Not so, not so,
I know you could not lack, I am certain on't,
Very necessity of this thought, that I,
Your partner in the cause 'gainst which he fought,
Could not with graceful eyes attend those wars 60
Which fronted mine own peace As for my wife,
I would you had her spirit in such another,
The third o' the world is yours, which with a snaffle
You may pace easy, but not such a wife

Eno Would we had all such wives, that the men might 65
go to wars with the women!

Ant So much uncurbable, her garboils, Cæsar,
Made out of her impatience, which not wanted
Shrewdness of policy too, I grieving grant
Did you too much disquiet for that you must 70
But say, I could not help it

Cæs I wrote to you,
When rioting in Alexandria you

60 graceful] *F*, grateful *Pope*

just worth notice that when Cæsar does come to the main point, the 'article of the oath,' Antony is impatient of interruption [R]

55 *laying but*] † As the line stands it is impossible to throw the apparently required emphasis on to *me* Capell therefore printed the line as *By laying to me defects of judgment, but* It is to be noticed that *F*, giving what precedes and follows as verse, prints this speech alone as prose, which perhaps suggests some confusion in the manuscript [R]

60 *with graceful attend*] favourably regard The only instance of *graceful* in this sense in *OED*

† And *c t* with Elizabethan script is an easy error, so that Pope was very probably right [R]

61 *fronted*] opposed Cf 1 iv 79 *ante*

62 *her spirit*] See North, *post*, pp 242, 250

63 *snaffle*] Flecknoe, *Heroick Portraits* (1660), sig H verso, uses this figure from horsemanship in speaking of the subjects of Charles I as 'onely rid with a snaffle, and gentle hand'

64 *pace*] train, cf *Per*, iv vi 68-70, 'My lord, she's not paced yet, you must take some pains to work her to your manage'

65-6 *that the men women*] probably purposely ambiguous The lines have always been printed as prose

67 *garboils*] See on 1 iii 61 *ante*
71-2 *I you*] The punctuation (Lloyd conj) is substantially that of the folio I agree with Mr Threlton in thinking it no improvement to read with modern editors 'I wrote to you / When rioting in Alexandria, you'

Did pocket up my letters, and with taunts
Did gibe my missive out of audience

Ant

Sir,

He fell upon me, ere admitted, then 75
Three kings I had newly feasted, and did want
Of what I was i' the morning, but next day
I told him of myself, which was as much
As to have ask'd him pardon Let this fellow
Be nothing of our strife, if we contend, 80
Out of our question wipe him

Cæs

You have broken

The article of your oath, which you shall never
Have tongue to charge me with

Lep

Soft, Cæsar!

Ant

No, Lepidus, let him speak,
The honour is sacred which he talks on now, 85
Supposing that I lack'd it But on, Cæsar,
The article of my oath

Cæs

To lend me arms and aid when I requir'd them,
The which you both denied

Ant

Neglected, rather,

And then when poisoned hours had bound me up 90
From mine own knowledge, as nearly as I may,
I'll play the penitent to you But mine honesty
Shall not make poor my greatness, nor my power

75 admitted, then] *F*, admitted then *Rowe*

74 *missive*] messenger So in *Mac*,
1 v 7, Macbeth's letter speaks of Ross
and Angus as '*missives* from the king'
For Antony's action, see note on 1 52

75 *admitted then*] † Rowe's emendation
is an example of needless tinkering with *F*'s punctuation
'Transposed pointing' is always possible, but
why assume it here? Antony's *then* is
contrasted with *next day*, when the
messenger was admitted in proper
form [*R*.]

80 *Be nothing of*] have no place in

82 *article*] precise terms

85-6 *The honour* *it*] Malone is
probably right in his view of 'Sup-
posing', etc which governs his (the

usual) interpretation of the passage
'The theme of honour which he now
speaks of, namely, the religion of an
oath, for which he supposes me not to
have a due regard, is sacred, it is a
tender point, and touches my char-
acter nearly Let him therefore urge
his charge, that I may vindicate my-
self' Yet in what follows, Antony prac-
tically admits that his honour slept
in poisoned hours, and the following
sense seems not impossible 'He is
speaking of an undeniable point of
honour, even supposing mine failed
me'

90-1 *bound knowledge*] drugged
me so that I was not myself

Work without it Truth is, that Fulvia,
To have me out of Egypt, made wars here, 95
For which myself, the ignorant motive, do
So far ask pardon, as befits mine honour
To stoop in such a case

Lep 'Tis noble spoken

Mæc If it might please you, to enforce no further
The griefs between ye to forget them quite 100
Were to remember that the present need
Speaks to atone you

Lep Worthily spoken, Mæcenas

Eno Or if you borrow one another's love for the instant,
you may, when you hear no more words of Pompey,
return it again you shall have time to wrangle in, 105
when you have nothing else to do

Ant Thou art a soldier only, speak no more

Eno That truth should be silent, I had almost forgot

Ant You wrong this presence, therefore speak no more

Eno Go to, then your considerate stone 110

98 noble] *F*, nobly *F*₂ 102 Worthily] *F*, Worthy *F*₂ 107 soldier only,]
soldier only, *Theobald*, Souldier, onely *F*

94 *without it*] 'without mine honesty' So Malone, on whose side is, perhaps, the accentuation of *it*. It may be a question, however, whether he and others do not too readily identify *power* with *greatness*. Perhaps *it* refers to *greatness*, and Antony declines to exert his *power*, except his *greatness* in no respect suffer diminution, either by his stooping too far or by the way in which his admissions are taken

95 *To have here*] See North, *post*, p 250

98 *noble*] adjective as adverb Very common Cf *Cæs*, v 1 60

100 *griefs*] grievances, a frequent sense Cf *Cæs*, i iii 118

102 *atone*] make at one, reconcile, as in *Cym*, i iv 44 So Jonson, *The Silent Woman*, iv v 165 'Nay, if he had been cool enough to tell us that, there had been some hope to atone you'

108 *That truth*, etc.] Cf *Lr*, i iv 124 '*Truth's* a dog must to kennel'

Grey quotes Ray's *Proverbs* 'All truth must not be told at all times'

109 *presence*] august company, as often in Shakespeare Cf *Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland* (ed Laing and Small, 1885), xvii 18 'The God of most magnificence, / Conserf this high *presens*,' etc

110 *your considerate stone*] Much needless tinkering here began with Johnson's *You considerate ones*. With the metaphor, compare Steevens's excellent examples (1821 Variorum), e.g. *Tit*, iii 1 46 'A stone is silent, and offendeth not', *Jacob and Esau* [1568, iv vi 18-23, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ii 237] 'Bring thou in thine, Mido, and see thou be a stone Mido A stone? how should that be, mistress? Rebecca I meant thou shouldest nothing say', or a new one from Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Captain*, iv iv (Camb v 297) 'Think she is a stone / She is a kind of bawdy confessor, / And will not

Cæs I do not much dislike the matter, but
 The manner of his speech, for't cannot be
 We shall remain in friendship, our conditions
 So differing in their acts Yet, if I knew 114
 What hoop should hold us staunch from edge to edge
 O' the world, I would pursue it

Agr Give me leave, Cæsar

Cæs Speak, Agrippa

Agr Thou hast a sister by the mother's side,
 Admir'd Octavia? Great Mark Antony
 Is now a widower

Cæs Say not so, Agrippa 120
 If Cleopatra heard you, your reproof

115-16 staunch from world,] *F*, staunch, from world *Pope* 120 not
 so,] *Rowe*, not, say *F* 121 reproof] *Hanmer* (*Warburton* cony), prooffe *F*,
 approof *Theobald*

utter secrets 'Considerate is here = considering, reflective, as in *R3*, iv 11 30 'none are for me / That look into me with considerate eyes', D'Avenant, *Gondibert* (1651), 11 11 10 'on whose considerate brow, Sixtue experienc'd summers he discern'd' Enobarbus obviously means Very well, have me dumb, but reflective, 1 e none the less aware that your friendship will be hollow *Consideration* occurs in iv 11 45 *post*

113 conditions] dispositions, as often
Cf Lr, iv 11 35

115 What hoop staunch] Steevens quotes *2H4*, iv 11 43 'A hoop of gold to bind thy brothers in' See also *Ham*, i 11 63

118 Thou hast, etc] For hence to line 170, see North, *post*, p 251

sister by side] Octavia was the emperor's own sister, daughter of C Octavius and his second wife, Atia An elder sister, daughter of Ancharia, and also named Octavia, is given to Antony by Plutarch (see *post*, p 251), but this does not account for Shakespeare's 'sister by the mother's side' as some appear to fancy

119 Octavia?] † I think that F's question mark may well be retained,

though it has been almost universally changed to exclamation mark or semi colon Agrippa's is a half-rhetorical question—'you can't have forgotten that' [R]

121-2 your reproof rashness] Abbott (*Shakespearian Grammar*, §423) thinks we have here a case of the pronominal adjective being placed before the first of two nouns connected by *of*, and that, therefore, your reproof connected with *of rashness* is used 'where we should say, "the reproof of your rashness" (unless "of" here means "about," "for")' The latter alternative, or that *of* = by or as a consequence of, seems far more likely in view of the position of the nouns *Cf* 11 11 26 *post*

your reproof] † It is tempting to guess that what the compositor found in front of him was *yourreprooffe*, which he read as *youre prooffe*, and regularized the *youre* to *your*, which is the normal F spelling But the temptation must, I think, be resisted, however easy it makes the emendation There is no evidence, so far as I know, that Shakespeare normally wrote *youre*, and some that he did not Writers of an earlier generation, like More, naturally wrote the word with the final *e*, but by

Were well deserv'd of rashness

Ant I am not married, Cæsar let me hear

Agrippa further speak

Agr To hold you in perpetual amity, 125

To make you brothers, and to knit your hearts

With an unslipping knot, take Antony

Octavia to his wife, whose beauty claims

No worse a husband than the best of men,

Whose virtue, and whose general graces, speak 130

That which none else can utter By this marriage,

All little jealousies which now seem great,

And all great fears, which now import their dangers,

Would then be nothing truths would be tales,

Where now half tales be truths her love to both 135

Would each to other and all loves to both

Draw after her Pardon what I have spoke,

For 'tis a studied, not a present thought,

By duty ruminated

Ant Will Cæsar speak?

Cæs Not till he hears how Antony is touch'd, 140

With what is spoke already

Ant What power is in Agrippa,

If I would say, 'Agrippa, be it so,'

To make this good?

Cæs The power of Cæsar, and

His power unto Octavia

134, 135 truths] *F3*, truth's *F*

Shakespeare's time this spelling was fading out (and for what it is worth the spelling in the 'three pages' of *Sir Thomas More* is not even *your* but *yor*) The compositor, therefore, accustomed to *your* or *yor* would naturally break the hypothetically run-together words after *your* and not after *yourre* Possibly it was an auditory error [R]

133 *import*] carry with them, involve Cf *Lr*, iv iii 5 'which *imports* to the kingdom so much fear and danger'

134 *truths tales*] Cf Yarrington, *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, 1601 (Bul-

len's *Old Plays*, iv, p 9) 'Would Truth were false, so this were but a tale!' Pope read *but tales*, and various other insertions before *tales* have been proposed, for want of appreciating the metrical force of the pause The sense is that whereas, under present circumstances, reports only partially true are credited [and cause distrust], this marriage would make even true ones [of a disturbing nature] disbelieved, or deprive even true ones of significance

135 *both*] †? *each* [R]

138 *present*] on the spur of the moment

- Ant* May I never
To this good purpose, that so fairly shows, 145
Dream of impediment! Let me have thy hand
Further this act of grace and from this hour,
The heart of brothers govern in our loves,
And sway our great designs!
- Cæs* There's my hand
A sister I bequeath you, whom no brother 150
Did ever love so dearly Let her live
To join our kingdoms, and our hearts, and never
Fly off our loves again!
- Lep* Happily, amen!
- Ant* I did not think to draw my sword 'gainst Pompey,
For he hath laid strange courtesies and great 155
Of late upon me I must thank him only,
Lest my remembrance suffer ill report,
At heel of that, defy him
- Lep* Time calls upon's,
Of us must Pompey presently be sought,
Or else he seeks out us
- Ant* Where lies he? 160
- Cæs* About the Mount Misena
- Ant* What is his strength?
- Cæs* By land, great, and increasing but by sea

146-7 hand Further] *F*, hand, Further *Theobald* and most edd See note 149
There's] *F*, There is *Theobald* 162 *Cæs* By land] *Hanmer* See note

144-6 May impediment] Cf *Sonn* cxvi 'Let me not to the marriage
of true minds / Admit impediments'

146-7 hand Further] † a good example of a tinkering with *F*'s punctuation which destroys the intended sense
Antony means 'I hope your hand-clasp will ratify this act of grace' For this use of 'have' cf *Oth*, v ii 87 'I would not have thee linger in thy pain' [R]

153 Fly off] Cf *Lr*, ii iv 91 'The images of revolt and flying off', R Flecknoe, *Herouk Portraits* (1660), sig F2 'and if you deceive them when it comes to the push indeed, and fly off, shrink, frown,' etc

157 remembrance] memory for favours

159 presently] immediately, as commonly Cf *Pepys's Diary*, 7 May 1660 'This morning Captain Cuttance sent me 12 bottles of Margate ale Three of them I drank presently with some friends,' etc, also North, *post*, p 250

161 Mount Misena] As North (see *post*, p 251) has 'the Mount of Misena,' Shakespeare certainly did not write 'Misenum,' as corrected by Rowe and successive editors

162] † The *Hanmer* emendation seems to me almost as certain as such things can be, though it has had few

He is an absolute master

Ant

So is the fame

Would we had spoke together! Haste we for it,
Yet ere we put ourselves in arms, despatch we
The business we have talk'd of

165

Cæs

With most gladness,

And do invite you to my sister's view,
Whither straight I'll lead you

Ant

Let us, Lepidus,

Not lack your company

Lep

Noble Antony,

Not sickness should detain me

170

[*Flourish Exeunt all but Enobarbus, Agrippa, and Mæcnas*

Mæc Welcome from Egypt, sir

Eno Half the heart of Cæsar, worthy Mæcnas! My
honourable friend Agrippa!

Agr Good Enobarbus!

Mæc We have cause to be glad, that matters are so well 175
disgested You stay'd well by 't in Egypt

Eno Ay, sir, we did sleep day out of countenance, and
made the night light with drinking

170 S D *Exeunt*] *Capell, Exit omnes Manet Enobarbus, Agrippa, Mæcnas F*

followers F reads '*Anth* What is his strength by land? *Cæsar* Great, and increasing' But Antony was not likely to narrow the scope of his question to the enemy's land forces, whereas the two abrupt questions from him, with Cæsar's itemized reply to the second, seem to me much more effective and more in character [R]

164 *spoke together*] joined battle Cf *π vi 25 post*, and *Cor*, *ι iv 4* † But I think Dover undoubtedly right that Antony's *we* means not himself and Pompey, but himself and Cæsar 'If only we had had a chance of consultation, this danger from Pompey would never have arisen' [R]

166 *most*] the greatest, as in *1H6*, *rv 1 38* 'But always resolute in *most* extremes', Googe, *Eglogs*, 1563 (Arber's repr, p 126) 'Syth that the *most* misfortune nowe,' etc

167 *do*] I do So in *Lr*, *v 1 68*, *shall* = they shall

172 *Half Cæsar*] beloved of Cæsar Deighton 'the translation of a Latin poetical phrase used by Horace of Vergil, *Odes*, *ι iii 8 animæ dimidium mea*'

176 *stay'd well by't*] † not, I think, so obvious as the silence of most commentators suggests that it is Dover Wilson's reference to *Cor*, *π ii 176* is not very helpful, since 'stay'd by him' there need mean no more than 'continued to fight him' Onions gives 'kept things going' I think it means 'you stuck well to your guns' or, almost with the racing sense of *stay*, 'your stamina must have been pretty good' [R]

177-8] Day was disconcerted by being treated as night, and night made light in a two-fold sense, i.e. bright,

- Mæc* Eight wild-boars roasted whole at a breakfast, and
but twelve persons there, is this true? 180
- Eno* This was but as a fly by an eagle we had much
more monstrous matter of feast, which worthily
deserved noting
- Mæc* She's a most triumphant lady, if report be square
to her 185
- Eno* When she first met Mark Antony, she purs'd up his
heart upon the river of Cydnus
- Agr* There she appear'd indeed, or my reporter devis'd
well for her
- Eno* I will tell you 190
The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne
Burn'd on the water the poop was beaten gold,
Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
The winds were love-sick with them, the oars were
silver,
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made 195
The water which they beat to follow faster,
As amorous of their strokes For her own person,
It beggar'd all description she did lie

187 Cydnus] *Fz*, Sidnus *F*
love-sicke With them the *F*

194 love-sick with them, the] *Pope's pointing*,

and either of light behaviour or light-headed

179 *Eight wild boars*] See North,
post, p 248

181 *by*] compared with

184 *square*] just, cf *Tim*, v iv 36

187 *Cydnus*] The river of Cilicia on which Tarsus is situated For the rest of the scene, see North, *post*, pp 246-7 Mason thinks it due to negligence that Antony is represented as captivated by Cleopatra on *Cydnus*, he being all the time in the market-place (line 215), nay, we may add, being made to yield up his heart later at supper (line 225) But in the mind of Enobarbus, 'the quick forge' already glowing with the task before it, I think Antony was already won on *Cydnus* and, undoubtedly, knowing Antony as he did,

he must have reckoned him as good as won when he saw what he reports Indeed, the emotions of Antony—left in the magically dispeopled city—would carry him far on the road to love

188 *There indeed*] Dover Wilson, very reasonably, 'suspects an omission, perhaps of "triumphantly" or "in triumph "'

devis'd] invented, '*devis'd* well for her' may contain the sense, invented a fine description of her

191-2 *The barge Burn'd*] Cf Fairfax's Tasso, *Godfrey of Bullorgne* (1600), xvi iv, of a representation of the battle of Actium 'The waters *burnt* about their vessels good, / Such flames the gold therein enchased threw,' etc

In her pavilion—cloth of gold, of tissue—
 O'er-picturing that Venus where we see 200
 The fancy outwork nature On each side her,
 Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
 With divers-colour'd fans, whose wind did seem

199 *cloth of gold, of tissue*] One of the two current explanations, viz, 'cloth of gold in tissue or texture,' may, I think, be dismissed, for, like 'of Damaske' in 'his grace was apparelled in a garment of Clothe of Silver, of Damaske, ribbed with Cloth of Golde, so thicke as might bee' (Hall's *Chronicle*, 1548, Henry VIII, xi yere, f lxxvi), 'of tissue' added to the otherwise sufficient 'cloth of gold' must denote something, in view of the independent existence of *tissue* and *cloth of tissue* whether the inter-mixture of coloured silks, or else quality, depending on the number of threads in the warp Cf 'Which sat behynde a traues of sylke fyne / Of golde of tessow, the fynest that might be' (Skelton, *Bouge of Court*, prologue, st 9), and the following definitions 'Tissu of the French Tissu, i e woven cloth of Tissu, with us cloth of silke and silver, or of silver and gold woven together' (Minshew, *Guide to the Tongues*, 1617), 'Tissue, made of three threads of divers colours of Tissue' (*ibid*), 'to weave cloth of tissue with twisted threads both in woofe and warp, and the same in sundry colours was the invention of Alexandria,' etc (Mr Craig from Holland's *Pliny*, bk viii, chap xlviii, pt. 1, p 228, ed 1634)

The other explanation current is Staunton's, 'cloth of gold on a ground of tissue,' which suggests no objection save that the reversal of the positions of *gold* and *tissue* is possible, indeed probable, judging by the frequency of examples Cf 'in a coate of rich *tissue* cut on cloth of silver' (Hall's *Chronicle*, 1548, Henry VIII, yere ix f lxxv), 'Thus gold-ground *Tissue*' (Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, ed 1621, p 442, week 2, day 4, bk ii, line 22), 'With gold-

ground Velvets, and with silver *Tissue*' (*ibid*, p 71, week 1, day 3, line 1181) Shakespeare had the phrase from North (see *post*, p 246), now first supported by other instances 'The Kyng of Englande mounted on a freshe courser, the trapper of *clothe of golde, of Tissue*' (Hall, as before, xi yere, f lxxviii, I owe this reference to Mr Craig), 'The aultars of the Chapell were hanged with riche revesture of *clothe of golde, of Tissue*, Embroidered with pearles' (*ibid*, f lxxiii) The Collier MS correction, 'cloth of gold, and tissue,' was therefore needless, though the phrase apparently occurs See Nichols, *Progresses of James I* (1828), ii 550

200-1 *O'er-picturing nature*] surpassing the picture of Venus in which artistic imagination has outdone nature Warburton (whose suggestion is still frequently quoted) has 'Meaning the Venus of Protogenes, mentioned by Pliny, l xxxv, c x', but as Pliny records no Venus by Protogenes we must surely substitute that of Apelles (Pliny, *Nat Hist*, lib xxxv 36 [x]), whose famous Venus Anadyomene was inferentially said to outdo nature in the poetical assertion that Juno and Pallas would contend no further for the prize of beauty if they saw her Sylvester says that certain works of art, including Apelles' Venus, 'Are proofs enow that learned Painting can, [*sic*] Can (Goddess-like) another Nature frame' (*Du Bartas*, week 1, day 6, 1621 ed, p 133) North has merely 'apparelled and attired like the goddess Venus, commonly drawn in picture' Theobald had correctly referred to Apelles' Venus

203-5 *fans undid did*] According

To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
And what they undid did

Agr O, rare for Antony! 205

Eno Her gentlewomen, like the Nereides,
So many mermaids, tended her i' the eyes,
And made their bends adornings At the helm
A seeming mermaid steers the silken tackle
Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands, 210
That yarely frame the office From the barge
A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
Of the adjacent wharfs The city cast
Her people out upon her, and Antony,

204 glow] *Rowe*, gloue *F*, glove *F2* 205 undid did] *F*, did, undid *Johnson*
cony, undy'd, dy'd *Staunton* 209 tackle] *F*, tackles *F2*

to the syntax the *fans* cooled or 'undid' heat, their *wind* seemed to produce it, or 'did' the reverse of the action, but the imagination readily identifies the fans with the wind and makes it equally unnecessary to read *winds* or refer *they* to *boys* (line 202) Helen, in Venus' Show (Peele, *The Arraignment of Paris*, II 1 79), has 'four Cupids attending on her, each having his *fan* in his hand to fan fresh air in her face'

206-7 *Nereides mermaids*] As Stevens observed, the fifty daughters of Nereus and Doris, divinities of the Ægean Sea, were unlike mermaids in having complete human shapes

207 *tended her i' the eyes*] waited in her sight, i.e. were not just a group of attendants in the background. The following new example seems especially to favour this common interpretation. Chapman translates 'Flos Asiae ante ipsum' (Juvenal, *Sat* v, line 56) by 'In his eye waits the flower of Asia,' where the intention is to contrast a rich host's personal attendant with the rude slaves who minister to his guests. Stevens quotes *Ham*, IV iv 6 'We shall express our duty in his eye' See also *MND*, III 1 172 'Hop in his walks and gambol in his eyes'

208 *made bends adornings*] † There are five close-packed pages of selected

comments on this and the preceding line in the Furness Variorum, from which we learn, amongst many other things, that the *bends* are Cleopatra's eyebrows, which the attendants are 'adjusting', or, alternatively, the thickest outer planks of the ship's side, while the *eyes* are either the hawseholes or 'dead eyes' I am not clear what all the pother is about, and one quotation from Drayton, given by Case, seems to me almost decisive in favour of the obvious meaning *Mortimeriados* (slightly varied in *The Barons' Wars*, vi) 'The naked nymphs, some up, some downe descending, / Small scattering flowres one at another flung, / With pretty turns their lymbber bodies bending' Cleopatra's attendants, as they wait on her, fall into such graceful postures that they compose a lovely frame for the central figure [R]

209 *tackle*] collective, sails, ropes, etc

211 *yarely*] readily, nimbly So in *Tp*, I 1 3 'fall to't, *yarely*, or we run ourselves aground'

frame] perform, manage See *Lr*, I 1 109, Basse, *Works* (ed Bond), p 232 'wish'd to *frame* these rites to you,' etc

213 *wharfs*] banks So in *Ham*, I v 33 'on Lethe *wharf*'

Enthron'd i' the market-place, did sit alone, 215
 Whistling to the air, which, but for vacancy,
 Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too,
 And made a gap in nature

Agr Rare Egyptian!

Eno Upon her landing, Antony sent to her,
 Invited her to supper she replied, 220
 It should be better he became her guest,
 Which she entreated our courteous Antony,
 Whom ne'er the word of 'No' woman heard speak,
 Being barber'd ten times o'er, goes to the feast,
 And for his ordinary, pays his heart, 225
 For what his eyes eat only

Agr Royal wench!

She made great Cæsar lay his sword to bed,
 He plough'd her, and she cropp'd

Eno I saw her once

Hop forty paces through the public street,
 And having lost her breath, she spoke, and panted, 230
 That she did make defect perfection,
 And, breathless, power breathe forth

232 breathless, power breathe] *Pope*, breathless power breathe *F3,4*, breathlesse powre breath *F*, breathlesse power breath *F2*

216 *but for vacancy*] except that it would have created a vacuum 'Alluding to an axiom in the peripatetic philosophy then in vogue, that *Nature abhors a vacuum*' (Warburton) Cf *Sylvester's Du Bartas*, p 9, in ed 1621 'To all so odious is Vacutie'

225 *ordinary*] supper The ordinary, or regular public dinner, was a very flourishing institution in Shakespeare's time, and a convenient centre for news-gathering, discussion, dicing, etc For its humours, see Dekker, *The Gull's Hornbook*, 1609, chap v, *How a young Gallant should behaue himselfe in an Ordinary* His instructions begin thus 'First, hauing diligently enquired out an Ordinary of the largest reckoning, whither most of your Courtly Gallants do resort, let it be your vse to repaire thither some halfe houre after eleuen,

for then you shall find most of your fashion-mongers planted in the roome waiting for meate'

227 *Cæsar*] See on II vi 68-70 *post* 228 *cropp'd*] bore fruit See North, *post*, p 258, and North's *Julius Cæsar* (Tud Trans v 52) 'Thereuppon Cæsar made Cleopatra his [the king's] sister Queene of Ægypt, who being great with childe by him, was shortly brought to bedde of a sonne, whom the Alexandrians named Cæsarion', and *ibid* in margin 'Cæsarion, Cæsars sonne, begotten of Cleopatra' Marston uses the word in a similar connection, but transitively, see 2 *Antonio and Melinda*, I 1 26 'He wan the ladie to my honours death, / And from her sweetes *cropt* this Antonio'

232 *power forth*] did breathe forth charm, 1 e made her want of

Mæc Now Antony must leave her utterly

Eno Never, he will not

Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale 235

Her infinite variety other women cloy

The appetites they feed, but she makes hungry,

Where most she satisfies For vilest things

Become themselves in her, that the holy priests

Bless her, when she is riggish 240

Mæc If beauty, wisdom, modesty, can settle

The heart of Antony, Octavia is

A blessed lottery to him

Agr Let us go

Good Enobarbus, make yourself my guest,

Whilst you abide here

Eno Humbly, sir, I thank you 245

[*Exeunt*]

[SCENE III — *The same Cæsar's house*]

Enter ANTONY, CÆSAR, OCTAVIA *between them*

Ant The world, and my great office, will sometimes

Divide me from your bosom

Octa All which time

238 vilest] *F*₄ and *edd*, vilest *F*

breath a source of fascination *F* text yields rather Daniel's *pour breath forth*, and might forbid change, were the clause co-ordinate with *spoke*, and *panted* But as a consequence of speaking and panting it is lame, and if = *sing* (Staunton, *Athenæum*, 1873, *Apl* 12) becomes lamer

234 *Never, he will not*] † I have retained the accepted punctuation But 'he will not' is something of an anticlimax after the emphatic 'never', and I suspect that *F*'s unpunctuated reading, 'Never he will not', with double negative, is right, or perhaps even more probably that 'Never' and 'he will not' were alternatives, neither of which was clearly marked for omission [R.]

238-9 *For vilest her*] Cf *I* iv 21 *ante*

240 *riggish*] wanton So in Lane's *Tom Tel-Troth's Message*, etc., 1600 (New Shakespeare Soc 1876), stanza 52 'Their *riggish* heads must be adorned with tires,' etc The substantive *rig* = strumpet is common, the verb (= to gad) occurs in Lyly's *Midas*, *i* ii 90

243 *lottery*] allotment, prize Similarly *lotteth* = alloteth 'Thee towns neglecting, that to hym set destenye lotteth' (Stanyhurst's *Virgil*, iv [ed Arber], p 102), *lotted* = allotted 'thou didst spend thy lotted days' (*A Collection of Seventy-nine Black-letter Ballads*, etc, p 264, Lally, 1867)

Before the gods my knee shall bow my prayers
To them for you

Ant Good night, sir My Octavia,
Read not my blemishes in the world's report 5
I have not kept my square, but that to come
Shall all be done by the rule Good night, dear lady

Octa Good night, sir

Cæs Good night [Exeunt Cæsar and Octavia]

Enter Soothsayer

Ant Now, sirrah, you do wish yourself in Egypt? 10

Sooth Would I had never come from thence, nor you
Thither!

Ant If you can, your reason?

Sooth I see it in
My motion, have it not in my tongue but yet

8 Good night, sir] See note

9 Exeunt Cæsar and Octavia] Rowe, Exit F

6 *kept my square*] †not, I think, 'kept within due bounds,' as it is sometimes explained, but 'kept to the straight line' The metaphor is from a carpenter's set square, by which a line can be ruled not only straight but in the right relation to another Cf *squar* (a common Elizabethan form of *square*) meaning a footrule, as in *1H4*, II II 14, 'four foot by the squire' [R]

7-8 *Good night, dear lady Good night, sir*] †F gives both sentences to Antony, so that Octavia has no farewell speech F2, almost certainly rightly, gives *Good night, sir* to Octavia Antony has already said good night to Cæsar in line 4 He now says good night to Octavia, and both Octavia and Cæsar reply [R]

10] For remainder of scene, see North, *post*, pp 252-3

12 *Thither*] †Mason boldly proposed to read 'Hither', and F's reading is undeniably awkward It makes the soothsayer regret (a) that he ever left his own country, and (b) that Antony had ever gone to it But the second regret, implying that it is Antony's visit to Egypt which has caused all the

later trouble, is not only quite irrelevant to his line of argument, but contrary to it Antony's 'demon' would have been just as much subdued by Cæsar's if he had stayed in Rome, and the only hope for him is to get back to Egypt as soon as may be It would be just possible to retain F's words, but repunctuate 'Would I had never come from thence, nor you /Thither' making 'Thither' a command But though 'Thither again' would serve well enough, and be picked up by 'Hie you to Egypt again,' 'Thither' by itself is a weak word to take the necessary stress [R]

12-13 *in My motion*] in the involuntary movement of my brain, i.e. intuitively, 'by self-unable motion' (*All's W*, III 1 13) Cf Lord Herbert, *Occasional Verses* (1665), in preface 'belief that their Poets, as Orpheus, Linus, and Musæus, were descended of the Gods, and divinely inspired, from the extraordinary *Motions* of their Minds,' etc., F Spence's *Lucian* (1684), *The Epistle Dedicatory*, sig B7 'In his Works he has coucht a perfect *Anatomy* of the Passions and inward

Hie you to Egypt again

Ant Say to me,
Whose fortunes shall rise higher, Cæsar's or mine? 15

Sooth Cæsar's
Therefore, O Antony, stay not by his side
Thy demon, that thy spirit which keeps thee, is
Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,
Where Cæsar's is not But near him, thy angel 20
Becomes afeard, as being o'erpower'd, therefore
Make space enough between you

Ant Speak this no more

Sooth To none but thee, no more but when to thee
If thou dost play with him at any game,
Thou art sure to lose, and of that natural luck, 25
He beats thee 'gainst the odds Thy lustre thickens,
When he shines by I say again, thy spirit
Is all afraid to govern thee near him,
But he away, 'tis noble

Ant Get thee gone
Say to Ventidius I would speak with him 30
[*Exit Soothsayer*]

18 that thy] *F*, that's thy *F2* 19 high, unmatchable] *F3*, high unmatchable
F, *F2*, high-unmatchable *anon cony* 21 afeard,] afeard, *Thirlyb*, a feare, *F*
23 To to thee] *Theobald's pointing*, To none but thee no more but when to
thee, *F* 29 he away, 'tis] *Pope*, he alway 'tis *F* 30, 39 Ventidius] *F2*,
Ventigius F 30 *SD Exit Soothsayer Exit F*

Motions of Man,' etc Shakespeare seems to use the singular variously for the operation of the mind and the natural impulses Cf *Oth*, i ii 75, i iii 95 On the Soothsayer, see notes on i ii ante

18 that thy] Some editors read that 's with *F2-4*, comparing North, q v, p 253 post In support of the text Rolfe refers to iii v 18, iv xiv 79 post, *Mac*, i vii 53, etc

18-21] See North, post, p 253, for this allusion to the ancient belief that a guardian spirit attends each of us from birth to guide and admonish, and cf *Mac*, iii i 54-7 'There is none but he / Whose being I do fear and under him, / My Genius is rebuk'd, as it

is said / Mark Antony's was by Cæsar'

21 afeard] †The *e d* confusion is so usual, and the consequent emendations such common form, that there is little to guide us in choosing between *F* and *Thirlyb* except 'suitability' *Afeard* has been scorned, and a *fear* praised as 'characteristically Shakespearean', which no doubt it is, but is it characteristic of the soothsayer? In lines 28-9 he makes precisely the same distinction between *afraid* and *noble*, and see North, p 253 post [R]

25 of] in consequence of
26 thickens] grows dim, is no longer clear and bright So in *Mac*, iii ii 50, 'Light thickens'

He shall to Parthia Be it art or hap,
 He hath spoken true The very dice obey him,
 And in our sports my better cunning faints
 Under his chance if we draw lots, he speeds,
 His cocks do win the battle still of mine 35
 When it is all to nought, and his quails ever
 Beat mine, inhoop'd, at odds I will to Egypt
 And though I make this marriage for my peace,
 I' the east my pleasure lies O, come, Ventidius

Enter VENTIDIUS

You must to Parthia, your commission's ready, 40
 Follow me, and receive 't [*Exeunt*]

[SCENE IV — *The same A street*]

Enter LEPIDUS, MÆCENAS, and AGRIPPA

Lep Trouble yourselves no further pray you hasten
 Your generals after

Agr Sir, Mark Antony

36 *all to nought*] even when the odds are infinite in my favour

37 *in hoop'd, at odds*] If confined within a hoop the birds could not avoid fighting Farmer quotes the first two lines of one of John Davies of Hereford's Epigrams [*Vpon English Proverbs* No 287, *Scourge of Folly*, p 47 (*Works*, ed Grosart, vol II)] "Hee sets cocke on the hoope" as you wou'd say / For cocking in hoopes is now all the play, / And therefore no maruell mens stockes often droope, / That still vse the cockepit to set cocke *in hoope* ' The first line is in the original incorrectly, "Hee sets cocke on the hoope in," etc, the sense of the phrase in the last is illustrated by a reference of Mr Craig's to Horman's *Vulgaria* 'He setteth all things at cock in the *hope*, omnia in fortunæ casibus ponit ' This epigram makes it clear that Shakespeare em-

bellished what he took here from North, by an allusion to the practice of his own time in cock-fighting, and disposes of Capell's reading (Seward's conjecture), *in whoop'd-at odds*, i.e odds so much in Antony's favour as to excite the cries of the onlookers), notwithstanding frequent spellings like *Hoop'd* for *Whoop'd* in *Cor*, IV v 84 Douce (*Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1807, II, p 867) says 'Quail combats were well known among the ancients, and especially at Athens Julius Pollux relates that a circle was made in which the birds were placed, and he whose quail was driven out of this circle lost the stake,' etc He also gives an illustration of the sport among the Chinese, copied from a Chinese miniature painting, in which the quails are actually placed within a hoop, a small, low circular enclosure, set on a table

Will e'en but kiss Octavia, and we'll follow

Lep Till I shall see you in your soldiers' dress,
Which will become you both, farewell

Mæc We shall, 5

As I conceive the journey, be at the Mount
Before you, Lepidus

Lep Your way is shorter,
My purposes do draw me much about,
You'll win two days upon me

Both Sir, good success!

Lep Farewell [Exeunt 10

[SCENE V — *Alexandria Cleopatra's palace*]

Enter CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, IRAS, and ALEXAS

Cleo Give me some music, music, moody food
Of us that trade in love

All The music, ho!

Enter MARDIAN the Eunuch

Cleo Let it alone, let's to billiards come, Charmian

6 at the] *F2*, at *F*

Scene v

3 billiards] *F2*, billards *F*

6 *Mount*] *Mount Misenum* See ii
ii 161 *ante*, and North, *post*, p 251
9 *win upon me*] Cf Jonson, *The
New Inn*, ii ii 25 'You will win upon
me in compliment'

good success] So in *Lr*, v iii 196 'this
good success' The word was used for
result, good or bad Cf Daniel,
Hymen's Triumph, iii ii (line 1133)
(*Works*, ed Grosart, iii 372) 'That
learns his errors but by their *successes*, /
And when there is no remedie' See
also iii v 5 *post*

Scene v

1 *moody food*] Cf *Twelfth Night*, i 1
1 'If music be the food of love, play
on' Moody = melancholy Quarles
uses it nobly of the passing bell 'This

moody musick of impartial death' See
his 'Pentologia', *Mors Tua*, i 9

2 *trade in*] probably much as now,
'have dealings in', etc., but the word
(verb and noun) retained senses nearer
that of its source, *thead* Cf Sylvester's
Du Bartas, week 11, day 11, pt iii,
p 282, ed 1621 'Ships To trade the
seas', Cartwright, *Poems*, 1651, p 312
'Thine equal skill thus wresting no-
thing, made / Thy Pen seem not so
much to write, as Trade' Turbervile,
The Speech of Reason against Love (repr
in *The Muses Library*, 1741, p 192),
uses the noun of lustful intercourse
'They spent their youthfull Yeares /
In foule, and filthie Trade,' etc

3 *billiards*] In a citation by Dr Fur-
ness from A A Adce in *Lit World*,

- Char* My arm is sore, best play with Mardian
Cleo As well a woman with an eunuch play'd, 5
 As with a woman Come, you'll play with me, sir?
Mar As well as I can, madam
Cleo And when good will is show'd, though 't come too short,
 The actor may plead pardon I'll none now,
 Give me mine angle, we'll to the river there, 10
 My music playing far off I will betray
 Tawny-finn'd fishes, my bended hook shall pierce
 Their slimy jaws, and as I draw them up,
 I'll think them every one an Antony,
 And say 'Ah, ha! y'are caught'
Char 'Twas merry when 15
 You wager'd on your angling, when your diver
 Did hang a salt-fish on his hook which he
 With fervency drew up
Cleo That time? O times!
 I laugh'd him out of patience, and that night
 I laugh'd him into patience, and next morn, 20
 Ere the ninth hour, I drunk him to his bed,
 Then put my tires and mantles on him, whilst

12 Tawny-finn'd] *Theobald*, Tawny fine *F* 18 time? O times!] time?
 oh times *F*

21 April 1883, Boston, it is urged that 'Shakespeare got the idea that billiards was an Egyptian game, and a favourite pastime of women' from Chapman, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, iv 11 'go, Aspasia, / Send for some ladies to go play with you, / At chess, at billiards and at other game'

10 angle] fishing tackle

15-18 'Twas merry, etc.] See North, *post*, p 250 Nashe, *Lenten Stufte*, iii, p 212, lines 11-28, has a story of a scholar in Cambridge who amused the 'gaping rural fools' by drawing up a red herring, with which he had secretly baited his hook, at the town-bridge there There is also a story quoted by Dr Grey (*Critical, etc.*, *Notes on Shakespeare*, 1754, ii 198) from *Memoirs of the English Court*, 1707, pp 489-90, that Nell Gwynn similarly caused

Charles II to draw up a dozen fried smelts, and the Prince of Newburg a purse containing 'the picture of my Lady ——' set in gold and jewelled 'Cleopatra,' said the king, 'caused a sardian to be tied to Mark Anthony's hook, but you exceed her in your contrivance, for you bestow pictures, which are much more acceptable'

21 ninth hour] probably 9 a.m. rather than 3 p.m. Cf *Cæs*, ii iv 23

22 tires] usually understood here as = head-dresses Cf *Wiv*, iii iii 60, Chapman, *A Justification of a Strange Action of Nero*, 1629 'it shall no more be tortured with curling bodkins, tied up each night in knots, wearied with tires,' etc In sense *attire*, the word is also common Cf Heywood, *The Brazen Age* (*Works*, Pearson, iii 245) 'Hence with these womanish tyres,'

I wore his sword Philppan O, from Italy¹

Enter a Messenger

Ram thou thy fruitful tidings in mine ears,
That long time have been barren

Mess Madam, madam,—
Cleo Antonius dead¹—If thou say so, villain, 26
Thou kill'st thy mistress but well and free,
If thou so yield him, there is gold, and here
My bluest veins to kiss, a hand that kings
Have lipp'd, and trembled kissing 30
Mess First, madam, he is well

24 Ram] *F*, *Rain Hamner* 25 been] *bin F* (and often elsewhere) 26
Antonius] *Delus*, *Anthony's F*, *Anthony's F₂* 28 him, there] *Pope* (ed 2),
him There] *F*

said by Hercules, Antony's supposed ancestor, with whose treatment by Omphale in this point there is a resemblance here, intentional or otherwise, as has been observed Cf also Rowlands, *The Knave of Hearts*, 1613 (Percy Society, No xxxiv, p 74) 'Reach me my stockings, and my other tire'

23 *Philppan*] The contrast is heightened by selecting the sword which triumphed in the overthrow of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi *Philppan* is doubtless noun, not adjective, though, as Theobald points out, we have no warrant for supposing swords to have received names till very much later times

24 *Ram*] Some read *Rain* with Hamner, but *Ram* is thoroughly characteristic, and is supported by Malone's references to *Cæs*, v iii 74 'thrusting this report / Into his ears,' and *Tp*, ii 1 113 'You cram these words into my ears,' etc Cf also Jonson's use of *rammed*, 'And for his poesy, 'tis so rammed with life' (*The Poetaster*, v 1 136)

26 *Antonius*] †Dover Wilson takes *I*'s spelling to 'suggest intimacy, natural to the context', over-subtle, I think And what about ii ii 7' [R]

27 *mistress*] The word may be trisyllabic here, like *frustrate*, v 1 2 *post*, and according to a very common practice of syllabifying r Cf *Rom*, ii iv 207, and Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, week 1, day 3, p 67, in 1621 ed 'Wherewith he woos his *Iron Mistress*, / And never leaues her till he get a kiss,' etc But the pause after *mistress* is sufficient for metre, and the quicker enunciation more in agreement with the speaker's mood

31-2 *First, madam we use*] †*F* lineates thus

Mes First Madam, he is well

Cleo Why there's more Gold
But sirrah marke, we use
To say,

That is, we have three incomplete lines, of which either the first and second, or the second and third, taken together make a regular complete line The narrowness of the Folio column is probably here, as in some other places, the cause of *F*'s lineation, since the first and second half-lines will not go into the column at all, and the second and third, though in fact they just will, would have been so tight a squeeze that a compositor might very naturally, looking at them in manuscript, conclude that he could not get them in,

Cleo

Why, there's more gold

But, sirrah, mark, we use
 To say, the dead are well bring it to that,
 The gold I give thee will I melt and pour
 Down thy ill-uttering throat

35

Mess Good madam, hear me

Cleo

Well, go to, I will,

But there's no goodness in thy face, if Antony
 Be free and healthful,—so tart a favour
 To trumpet such good tidings! If not well,
 Thou shouldst come like a Fury crown'd with snakes, 40
 Not like a formal man

37 face, if] face if *F*, face if *F2* 38 so] *F*, why so *Rowe*

and so start a new line without wasting time on an experiment. We are therefore entitled to re-lineate. But there are two ways of doing it, and they are worth a moment's examination, since something like the same problem with two or more solutions is presented in other places where re-lineation is called for. Which of the two ways one prefers depends on where one prefers to retain the incomplete line which we cannot avoid somewhere. Dr Brooks prefers the following

Mes First, madam, he is well

Cleo Why, there's more gold But,
 sirrah, mark, we use

To say,

That is, clearly, perfectly possible, and there is a certain effectiveness in leaving the messenger's brief announcement standing by itself. I prefer the arrangement of the text, for these reasons. Cleopatra's impulsive offer of more gold comes, I think, the moment his words are out of the messenger's mouth, but she then has a second, and alarming, thought, and makes a new start with it. And it will be observed that Cleopatra's second incomplete line may be regarded rhythmically not as unfinished but as 'un-begun', the gap at the beginning being occupied by the giving of the gold. This would be made plainer in a modern text,

more lavish of stage directions for business even when the business is clearly implied, thus

Why, there's more gold
 (*gives him gold*) But sirrah, mark,
 we use

To say, [R]

33 *the dead are well*] Cf 2 Kings, iv 26 'The same thought occurs in *Mac*, iv iii 176-7 '*Macd* How does my wife?' *Ross* Why, well *Macd* And all my children?' *Ross* Well too', 2*H4*, v ii 3, *Rom*, iv v 76, etc. Mr Churton Collins (*Studies in Shakespeare*, 1904, p. 54) notes the parallel with Euripides, *Troades*, 268 εὐδαιμονίᾳ παῖδᾶ σὴν ἔχει καλῶς

34-5 *The gold throat*] perhaps suggested by the treatment of Crassus' body by Orodes. See on iii 1 2 *post*

38-9 *so tart tidings*] so sour an aspect, etc. Cf *Rom*, ii v 23-4 'If good, thou sham'st the music of sweet news / By playing it to me with *so sour a face*' Also *Cym*, iii iv 11-14 *Favour* is very common for 'face,' 'appearance,' etc., so in *Oth*, i iii 346

41 *a formal man*] Here merely, I think, with Malone, a man in shape or form, though in *Err*, v 1 105, the phrase means a man in his normal condition of mind, as also elsewhere. Chester, *Love's Martyr* (ed. Grosart, New Shakespeare Soc., p. 108),

Mess Will't please you hear me?

Cleo I have a mind to strike thee ere thou speak'st
Yet if thou say Antony lives, is well,
Or friends with Cæsar, or not captive to him,
I'll set thee in a shower of gold, and hail 45
Rich pearls upon thee

Mess Madam, he's well

Cleo Well said

Mess And friends with Cæsar

Cleo Th'art an honest man

Mess Cæsar, and he, are greater friends than ever

Cleo Make thee a fortune from me

Mess But yet, madam,—

Cleo I do not like 'But yet,' it does allay 50
The good precedence, fie upon 'But yet,'
'But yet' is as a gaoler to bring forth
Some monstrous malefactor Prithee, friend,
Pour out the pack of matter to mine ear,
The good and bad together he's friends with Cæsar, 55
In state of health, thou say'st, and thou say'st, free
Mess Free, madam, no, I made no such report,
He's bound unto Octavia

43 1s] *Capell* (*Tyrwhitt cony*), 'tis *F*

speaks of the bear bringing forth 'A lump of flesh without all fashion, / Which she by often licking brings to rest, / Making a formal body good and sound,' etc 'A mere formall man' in Earle's *Micro-cosmographie* (1628) is one that is mere outside, all he does or says being pure imitation 'When you have seen him *outside*, you have lookt through him, and need employ your discovery no further'

45-6 *I'll thee*] Warburton is, doubtless, too specific in making this = 'I will give thee a kingdom', because of an Eastern coronation ceremony alluded to by Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II 4 'Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand / Shows on her Kings *Barbaric* Pearl & Gold' Cleopatra, however, proffers a province in line 68 *post*

50-1 *does allay precedence*] qualifies the good [news] that preceded it Cf for *precedence*, *LLL*, III 1 83 Daniel, in *Hymen's Triumph* (1615), II iv (line 901 in Grosart's *Daniel*) imitates with 'But—*Clo* Ah now comes that bitter vvord of But / Which makes all nothing, that vvas said before' There are several verbs *allay* (whence confusion, see *OED*), and the word here is not *allay* = alleviate, but belongs to *allay* = put down, abate, confused with *alloy* = alloy, whence comes *temper* or qualify by admixture of something undesirable, as here, cf *Cor*, II 1 53 'a cup of hot wine with not a drop of allaying Tiber in't'

54 *pack*] Cleopatra thinks of the messenger with his news as like a pedlar with his pack, and elaborates the image later, in lines 104-6

- Cleo* For what good turn ?
Mess For the best turn i' the bed
Cleo I am pale, Charmian
Mess Madam, he's married to Octavia 60
Cleo The most infectious pestilence upon thee!
[Strikes him down]
Mess Good madam, patience
Cleo What say you ? Hence,
[Strikes him]
 Horrible villain, or I'll spurn thine eyes
 Like balls before me, I'll unhair thy head,
[She hales him up and down]
 Thou shalt be whipp'd with wire, and stew'd in brine,
 Smarting in lingering pickle
Mess Gracious madam, 66
 I that do bring the news made not the match
Cleo Say 'tis not so, a province I will give thee,
 And make thy fortunes proud the blow thou hadst
 Shall make thy peace for moving me to rage, 70
 And I will boot thee with what gift beside
 Thy modesty can beg
Mess He's married, madam
Cleo Rogue, thou hast liv'd too long [Draw a knife]
Mess Nay, then I'll run
 What mean you, madam ? I have made no fault [Exit]
Char Good madam, keep yourself within yourself, 75
 The man is innocent
Cleo Some innocents 'scape not the thunderbolt
 Melt Egypt into Nile¹ and kindly creatures

58 *turn*] purpose (but the messenger takes the straightforward sense)

65 *whipp'd with wire*] So in Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller*, II, p 315, line 34 "Then did they scourge hys backe parts so blistered and basted, with burning whips of red hot *wire*", Sylvester's *Du Bartas, The Decay*, p 503, in ed 1621 'With *wyery* Rods, thou shalt to death bee *whipt*'

66 *lingering pickle*] either long-continuing pickle, or pickle whose effects will beso

71 *boot thee with*] give thee into the bargain, or merely benefit thee with, OED 'benefit, increase, enrich,' giving this passage only for this sense The noun (= something over and above, advantage) occurs in IV 1 9 *post*

73 Draw a knife] the not infrequent 'imperativall' S D

75 *keep yourself*] control yourself
 77 *innocents*] This is perhaps a play on the sense fools, naturals, occurring, e.g., in *Lr*, III v1 9

78 *Melt Nile*] Cf I 1 33 *ante*

Turn all to serpents! Call the slave again,
Though I am mad, I will not bite him call!

80

Char He is afeard to come

Cleo

I will not hurt him

These hands do lack nobility, that they strike
A meaner than myself, since I myself
Have given myself the cause

Enter the Messenger again

Come hither, sir

Though it be honest, it is never good
To bring bad news give to a gracious message
An host of tongues, but let ill tidings tell
Themselves, when they be felt

85

Mess

I have done my duty

Cleo Is he married?

I cannot hate thee worser than I do,
If thou again say 'Yes'

90

Mess

He's married, madam

Cleo The gods confound thee, dost thou hold there still?

Mess Should I lie, madam?

Cleo

O, I would thou didst,

So half my Egypt were submerg'd and made
A cistern for scal'd snakes! Go get thee hence,
Hadst thou Narcissus in thy face, to me

95

81-5 S D s] † I have kept the single S D of F Dyce, followed by others, inserted an *Exit Charmian* after *I will not hurt him*, and read *Re-enter Charmian and Messenger* just before *Come hither, sir*. But this misses the stage business. Charmian does not leave the stage, but goes to the door to call the messenger, whom she finds trembling outside, and reports accordingly. Then Cleopatra sees him in the doorway and encourages him with *Come hither, sir*, and he enters [R].

82-3 *These hands myself*] Steevens saw an allusion here to the laws of chivalry, which 'forbade a knight to engage with his inferior', but chastisement has nothing to do with combat on equal terms. There is another dif-

iculty: are there two reasons for lack of nobility? (1) the blow to an inferior, (2) the wrong assignment of blame, or, as I am half inclined to think, only one, the latter, thus: My hands act ignobly in bestowing blows on any less person than myself, for I myself am the real offender (by my infatuation for Antony) who has deserved them. Malone (see also III III 14) sees a probable hit at Queen Elizabeth's temper, after her death, when it 'might be safely hazarded'. The italics are mine.

95-7 *Go ugly*] Steevens quotes *John*, III 1 36-7 'Fellow, be gone! I cannot brook thy sight / This news hath made thee a most ugly man.'

96 *Narcissus*] See Golding's *Ovid's*

Thou wouldst appear most ugly He is married ?

Mess I crave your highness' pardon

Cleo He is married ?

Mess Take no offence that I would not offend you

To punish me for what you make me do 100

Seems much unequal he's married to Octavia

Cleo O that his fault should make a knave of thee,

That art not what th'art sure of Get thee hence,

The merchandise which thou hast brought from Rome

Are all too dear for me 105

Lie they upon thy hand, and be undone by 'em !

[Exit Messenger]

Char Good your highness, patience

Cleo In praising Antony, I have disprais'd Cæsar

Char Many times, madam

103 That th' art sure of] *F*, That say'st but what thou'rt sure of ! *Hammer*,
That art not !—what ? thou'rt sure of 't !—*Mason conj*, adopted by *Steevens* and others,
That art but *Grant White*, That art in *Hudson* 106 S D *Exit Messenger*
Rowe, not in *F*

Metam, bk III, line 428 et seq ' freckled Lyniop, whome sometime surprised in his streame, / The fload Cephisus did inforce This lady bare a sonne, / Whose beauty at his very birth might justly love have wonne / *Narcissus* did she call his name,' etc

99 Take you] Don't be angry at my reluctance to give a reply which I know will anger you

101 unequal] unjust So *2H4*, IV 1 102, Jonson, *Volpone*, III 11 14. 'You are unequal to me,' etc, Lord Brooke, *Life of Sidney* (*Works*, Grosart, IV 8) 'Witness his sound establishments both in Wales and Ireland, where his memory is worthily grateful unto this day how unequal and bitter soever the censure of provincials is usually against sincere monarchall governours,' etc

102-3 O sure of] The first of these two lines seems to me to require some stress on *his*, and to be suggested by the messenger's complaint in line 100 He says, in effect 'You are unjust you make me commit the fault you punish me for', she replies 'O that it

should be *his* fault that makes you a subject for punishment' What follows 'That art not what thou'rt sure of,' seems to imply Cleopatra's recognition that the messenger's offence to her lies in the obstinate persistence that his news is authentic, out of which he can neither be beaten nor cajoled (This is precisely the offence in Marston's imitation in *The Insatiate Countess*, IV 11) In this view the sense of the whole will be 'O that it should be *his* fault that makes thee a subject for punishment, that art not thyself the thing of which thou art so hatefully positive'

† Case is, I think, right about the first line, but doubtfully so about the second It is one of those Shakespearean phrases, common in his later work, of which the sense has to be 'felt' and not arrived at by syntactical analysis Cleopatra 'means' 'It is the fact of which you are so positive that deserves my anger, and not you, the bringer of the news' [R]

105-11 † Are all no matter] an admirable example of the lineation

Cleo I am paid for't now Lead me from hence, I faint, 110
 O Iras, Charmian! 'tis no matter
 Go to the fellow, good Alexas, bid him
 Report the feature of Octavia, her years,
 Her inclination, let him not leave out

problem, 'admitting a wide solution'
 F has this

Are all too deere for me
 Lye they vpon thy hand, and be
 undone by em

Char Good your Highnesse
 patience

Cleo In praysing *Anthony*, I haue
 disprais'd *Cæsar*

Char Many times, Madam

Cleo I am paid for't now lead
 me from hence,

I faint, oh *Iras*, *Charmian* 'tis no
 matter

I first adopted, without much conviction,
 the usual realineation (which
 derives from Capell), thus

Are all too dear for me lie they
 upon thy hand,
 And be undone by 'em!

Char Good
 your Highness, patience

Cleo In praising *Anthony*, I have
 disprais'd *Cæsar*

Char Many times, madam

Cleo I am paid for't now
 Lead me from hence,

I faint, O *Iras*, *Charmian*! 'tis
 no matter

Well, that bed of Procrustes no doubt
 produces something more regular
 than F, but at the cost of an awkwardly
 hypermetrical line to start with, which
 can only be regularized by a slurring
 which destroys the emphasis, and of a
 suspicious half-line for *Cleopatra*. The
 following was then suggested to me,
 with the comment 'Is this too fanciful?'

Are all too dear for me lie they
 upon

Thy hand, and be undone by
 'em

Char Good your highness
 Patience

Cleo In praising *Anthony*,
 I have

Disprais'd *Cæsar*

Char Many times,
 Madam

Cleo I
 Am paid for't now —Lead me
 from hence,
 I faint, O *Iras*, *Charmian*! 'tis
 no matter

That seems to me not too fanciful, but
 too jerky. And if one looks again at F,
 is there really much the matter with
 it? In the first two lines it retains the
 contrasted emphasis on *me* and *thy*. At
for me *Cleopatra* has said all she has to
 say, and pauses, and then spits out her
 vituperative dismissal, and though the
 second line is, by count of syllables,
 hypermetric, the last three syllables
 (-done by 'em) amount in naturally
 rapid delivery to no more than a femi-
 nine ending. Half-lines like *Charmian*'s
 are not uncommon (cf e.g. *Mardian*'s
 line 7 in this scene). But what is suspi-
 cious is *Cleopatra*'s awkwardly incom-
 plete line starting eleven lines of con-
 tinuous verse. But a glance at the *Folio*
 shows that after *hence*, there is room
 for only at most six letters (less, that is,
 than *I faint*, by a space and a comma)
 and suggests as a reasonable conjecture
 that *Shakespeare* wrote the complete line
 as in the text above, and intended a pause
 in the next line between *Charmian* and
 'tis no matter, while *Cleopatra* recovers
 herself [R].

113 *feature*] applies most commonly
 to the shape of the whole body, as in
R3, 1 1 19, sometimes to facial charac-
 teristics more especially, as in *John*,
 rv 11 264

114 *inclination*] temperament, to
 which *Henley* (1821 *Vamorum*)

The colour of her hair, bring me word quickly 115
[Exit Alexas]

Let him for ever go, let him not—Charmian,
Though he be painted one way like a Gorgon,
The other way's a Mars Bid you Alexas
[To Mardian] Bring me word how tall she is Pity me,
Charmian,

But do not speak to me Lead me to my chamber 120
[Exeunt]

[SCENE VI—Near Misenum]

Flourish Enter POMPEY at one door, with drum and trumpet, at another CÆSAR, LEPIDUS, ANTONY, ENOBARBUS, MÆCENAS, AGRIPPA, MENAS with Soldiers marching

Pom Your hostages I have, so have you mine,
And we shall talk before we fight

115 S D Exit Alexas] Capell, not in F

118 To Mardian] Capell, not in F

thought Cleopatra expected to find an
index in the colour of Octavia's hair

116 *him*] i.e. Antony

117-18 *Though Mars*] alluding, as Staunton pointed out, to the pictures formerly called perspectives (cf *Tw N*, v 1 227, *H5*, v 11 347) and still to be seen. Different objects are painted on the opposite surfaces of any suitable material (care being taken to paint one in the reverse direction), which is then cut into regular strips and attached to a third painted surface at small equal intervals, and at right angles to it. An example sometimes seen in village inns shows Lord Beaconsfield from one side, Mr Gladstone from the other, and a basket of flowers if the observer faces it. In [Sir George Mackenzie's] *Religio Stouici* (1665), sig A7, occurs 'Thus we see, that one may account that a miracle which another looks upon as a folly, and yet, none but Gods Spirit can decide the controverted Matters of Religion and Faith, resembling some curious Pictures,

and Optick Prisms, which seems to change shape and colours, according to the several stances from which the aspicient views them.'

Gorgon] presumably the particular Gorgon, Medusa, the sight of whose face turned men to stone

118 *way's*] surely 'The other way' = the other way of the picture. But Hammer and others print *way he's*, and *way's* is so explained by recent editors

Scene vi

[See North, *post*, p 252]

S D] † I have, with hesitation, retained F's S D, since, though odd, it is not impossible. The usual practice has been to bring in Menas with Pompey, and then excise Agrippa altogether, both somewhat drastic changes. But the S D is interpretable as it stands. There enter first, by their respective doors, Pompey, the triumvirs, Enobarbus, and Mæcenas, they are followed by Agrippa (who does not talk at all) and Menas (who does not talk till 117

Cæs

Most meet

That first we come to words, and therefore have we
 Our written purposes before us sent,
 Which if thou hast considered, let us know
 If 'twill tie up thy discontented sword,
 And carry back to Sicily much tall youth,
 That else must perish here

5

Pom

To you all three,

The senators alone of this great world,
 Chief factors for the gods I do not know
 Wherefore my father should revengers want,
 Having a son and friends, since Julius Cæsar,
 Who at Philippi the good Brutus ghosted,
 There saw you labouring for him What was't
 That mov'd pale Cassius to conspire? And what
 Made the all-honour'd, honest Roman, Brutus,
 With the arm'd rest, courtiers of beauteous freedom,
 To drench the Capitol, but that they would
 Have one man but a man? And that is it
 Hath made me rig my navy at whose burthen
 The anger'd ocean foams, with which I meant
 To scourge the ingratitude that spiteful Rome
 Cast on my noble father

10

15

20

Cæs

Take your time

10 gods I] gods I F, gods, I most edd 16 the] F2, not in F honest Roman,
 Brutus,] most modern edd, honest, Roman Brutus, F and Delius

but he and Enobarbus have left), each as leader of a group of soldiers, and they stand in the background ('Door' is the usual terminology of the Elizabethan playhouse, in which all entries to the main stage, whether the scene represented was indoors or not, were by 'doors') [R]

7 *tall*] stout, bold, as often in Shakespeare Also used sportively, in other connections than plain valour, as e.g. by Massinger, *The Unnatural Combat*, III 1 23 'As tall a trencherman, that is most certain, / As e'er demolish'd pyefortification,' etc See also *Wiv*, I iv 26, for 'tall' of his hands,' 1 e formidable in combat

10 gods I] † The heavy punctuation of F is surely right Pompey starts with a formal address, and then states his case, and *To you I do not know* is almost impossibly awkward [R]

10-14 *I do for him*] This appears to mean, in brief Julius Cæsar found active avengers in you, I do not see why my father, who has a son alive, and friends likewise, should go without revenge

13 *ghosted*] haunted See *Cæs*, iv III 275-87, v III 94-6, v v 17-19 Steevens quotes Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1632 ed., preface, p 22 'What madnesse ghosts this old man? but what madnesse ghosts us all?'

Ant Thou canst not fear us, Pompey, with thy sails
We'll speak with thee at sea At land thou know'st 25
How much we do o'er-count thee

Pom At land, indeed,
Thou dost o'er-count me of my father's house
But since the cuckoo builds not for himself,
Remain in't as thou may'st

Lep Be pleas'd to tell us—
For this is from the present—how you take 30
The offers we have sent you

Cæs There's the point

Ant Which do not be entreated to, but weigh
What it is worth embrac'd

Cæs And what may follow,
To try a larger fortune

Pom You have made me offer
Of Sicily, Sardinia, and I must 35
Rid all the sea of pirates Then, to send

24 *fear*] frighten, as often Cf Jon-
son, *Bartholomew Fair*, III ii 129 'Well
said, brave Whit! m, and *fear* the ale
out o' the bottles into the bellies of
the brethren,' etc

25 *speak with thee*] encounter thee
Cf II ii 164 *ante*

27 *o'er-count house*] Plutarch
relates that Antony, having bought the
elder Pompey's house at auction, after-
wards refused to pay for it See North,
pp 241, 244, 252 Hence, as Malone
observes, the phrase is equivocal, *out-*
number me by your possessing my
father's house, and *cheat* me out of it by
your sharp practice

28 *But since the cuckoo, etc*] 'Since,
like the cuckoo, that seizes the nests of
other birds, you have invaded a house
which you could not build, keep it
while you can' (Johnson) A sharp
taunt, emphasizing the insinuation of
cheating Cf R. Chester, *Love's*
Martyr, 1601 (New Shakespeare Soc,
1878, p 118) 'She scorneth to labour
or make vp a nest, / But creeps by
stealth into some others roome, / And
with the Larkes deare yong, her vone

ones rest, / Beeing by subtle dealing
ouercome,' etc The cuckoo's usual
victim is the hedge-sparrow See
1H4, v 1 60, *Lucr*, 849

30 *this present*] This (the matter
of the house) is beside the present
point

32-3 *Which do not embrac'd*] Do
not regard this as a plea, simply con-
sider your own interests

33-4 *And fortune*] understood as
a veiled menace in case his ambition
rejects all offers and resorts to arms It
may, however, be meant for encour-
agement (as implied in Schlegel and
Tieck's translation), and signify 'And
what it may lead to, if you take the
chance of developments in this alli-
ance' *To try*, the infinitive used inde-
finitely, as often Cf *Wint*, II ii 57
'I know not what I shall incur to pass
it, / Having no warrant'

36 *to send*] The insertion of *to* before
a second infinitive depending on an
auxiliary verb is frequent in Shake-
speare and elsewhere Cf *The Parlia-*
ment of Criticks, 1702, p 79 'Let the
Keeper of Radcliff tal-

Measures of wheat to Rome, this 'greed upon,
To part with unhack'd edges, and bear back
Our targes undinted

Cæs Ant Lep

That's our offer

Pom

Know, then,

I came before you here a man prepar'd 40
To take this offer But Mark Antony
Put me to some impatience though I lose
The praise of it by telling, you must know,
When Cæsar and your brother were at blows,
Your mother came to Sicily, and did find 45
Her welcome friendly

Ant

I have heard it, Pompey,

And am well studied for a liberal thanks
Which I do owe you

Pom

Let me have your hand

I did not think, sir, to have met you here

Ant The beds i' the east are soft, and thanks to you, 50
That call'd me timelier than my purpose hither,
For I have gain'd by 't

Cæs

Since I saw you last,

There is a change upon you

Pom

Well, I know not

39 *Cæs Ant Lep*] *Capell, Omnes F*
Ther's F

45 Sicily] *Cicelie F* 53 There is] *Rowe,*

gentlemen as those into his Care, and consider whether their *Madness* be in the *Brain* or the *Blood*, and to report to the above-mentioned censors,' etc

39 *targes*] said to be monosyllabic here (*targs*), and in *Cym*, v v 5

45 *Sicily*] † F's *Cicelie* is a real oddity One can see Shakespeare mis-spelling some of the less familiar proper names, but hardly so common a geographical name as this (with which elsewhere, by the way, as in *Wint*, he had apparently no difficulty) But it is an easy 'auditory' error, and I wonder whether in the light of it one should not examine with a more suspicious eye the easy writing-off of other similar errors as

'Shakespeare's mis-spellings' Apart from *Ventigius* - *Ventidius*, elsewhere commented on, what about *Sidnus* for *Cydnus*? As a 'mis-spelling' it is surely extravagantly 'far wide' But as a mis hearing it is easy enough [R]

47 *am well studied*, etc] See π 11 154-6 *ante* I am well equipped for amply thanking you, by much thought of my debt Cf π 11 138 *ante*, *Mer V*, π 11 211 'Like one *well studied* in a sad ostent, / To please his grandam,' etc, Dekker, *The Bel-man of London*, 1608 (*Temple Classics*, p 133) 'so *well studied* that he hath the principles of the *Black-Art*, and can pick a lock if it be not too much cross warded,' etc

What counts harsh fortune casts upon my face,
 But in my bosom shall she never come,
 To make my heart her vassal 55

Lep Well met here

Pom I hope so, Lepidus, thus we are agreed
 I crave our composition may be written
 And seal'd between us

Cæs That's the next to do

Pom We'll feast each other, ere we part, and let's 60
 Draw lots who shall begin

Ant That will I, Pompey.

Pom No, Antony, take the lot but, first or last,
 Your fine Egyptian cookery shall have
 The fame I have heard that Julius Cæsar
 Grew fat with feasting there

Ant You have heard much 65

Pom I have fair meanings, sir

Ant And fair words to them

Pom Then so much have I heard,
 And I have heard Apollodorus carried—

54 casts] cast's *F* 57 Lepidus, thus] *F*, Lepidus Thus *most edd* 66 mean-
 ings] *Malone* (*Heath cony*), meaning *F*

54 *counts*] reckonings So George Herbert, *The Discharge*, line 6 'Hast thou not made thy *counts*, and summ'd up all?' In his careless answer, Pompey makes Fortune *score* on his face the record of her cruelties to him Cf *Edward III* (1596), ed Moore Smith, iv iv 128-9 'And stratagems forepast with iron pens / Are texted in thine honourable face'

casts] used, of course, in the technical sense 'Dost thou not know numbers? Canst thou not *cast*?' (*The Puritan*, 1607, III 1 42)

† Should we perhaps read *fortune's cast* (i e *has cast*), which might account for *F*'s odd apostrophe? [*R*]

57] † I think *F*'s punctuation makes Pompey more deliberately courteous to the unimportant member of the triumvirate Thus then = 'if you also are content' [*R*]

58 *composition*] agreement Cf the use of *compose*, II 11 15 *ante*

64-5 *Cæsar feasting there*] 'Cæsar beganne thenceforth to spend all the night long in *feasting* and banqueting' (North's Plutarch, 1579, *Julius Cæsar*, Tudor Trans, v 50)

68-70 *Apollodorus mattress*]

'[Cæsar] secretly sent for Cleopatra which was in the contry to come unto him She onely taking Apollodorus Sicilian of all her friendes, tooke a litle bote and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foote of the castell Then having no other meane to come in to the court, without being knowen, she laid her selfe downe upon a mattress or flock-bed, which Apollodorus her friend tied and bound up together like a bundle with a great leather thong, and so tooke her up on his backe and hee etc

Eno No more of that he did so

Pom What, I pray you?

Eno A certain queen to Cæsar in a mattress 70

Pom I know thee now how far'st thou, soldier?

Eno Well,

And well am like to do, for I perceive

Four feasts are toward

Pom Let me shake thy hand,

I never hated thee I have seen thee fight,

When I have envied thy behaviour

Eno Sir, 75

I never lov'd you much, but I ha' prais'd ye,

When you have well deserv'd ten times as much

As I have said you did

Pom Enjoy thy plainness,

It nothing ill becomes thee

Aboard my galley, I invite you all 80

Will you lead, lords?

Cæs Ant Lep Show's the way, sir

Pom Come

[*Exeunt all but Menas and Enobarbus*]

Men [*Aside*] Thy father, Pompey, would ne'er have
made this treaty — You and I have known, sir

Eno At sea, I think

Men We have, sir 85

69 more of that] *F3*, more that *F* 81 Show's] *F* (Shew's), Shew us
Hammer SD *Exeunt*] *Exeunt* *Manet Enob and Menas F* 82 *Aside*]
Johnson

her thus hamperd in this fardell unto
Cæsar, in at the castell gate This was
the first occasion, (as it is reported)
that made Cæsar to love her but after-
wards, when he sawe her sweete con-
versation and pleasaunt entertain-
ment, he fell then in further liking with
her, and did reconcile her againe unto
her brother the king, with condition,
that they two joyntly should raigne
together' (*ibid* Tudor Trans, pp
50-1)

73 toward] impending, as in *Ham*,
v ii 378 'O proud Death! / What
feast is toward in thine eternal cell,'

etc Jonson, *EMI*, i i i (F) 'A
goodly day toward' and a fresh
morning'

78 Enjoy thy plainness] Cf Brome,
The Damselle, i ii (Pearson's Brome, i
391) 'Youle give me leave to use my
plainnesse[?]', i.e. to speake plainly

Enjoy] give rein to, 'indulge'
83 *known*] been acquainted So in
Cym, i iv 38 'Sir, we have *known* to-
gether in Orleans,' on which Professor
Dowden quotes Jonson, *Cynthia's
Revels* iv iii 76 'he salutes me as
familiarily as if we had *known* together
since the Deluge,' etc

Eno You have done well by water

Men And you by land

Eno I will praise any man that will praise me, though it cannot be denied what I have done by land

Men Nor what I have done by water 90

Eno Yes, something you can deny for your own safety you have been a great thief by sea

Men And you by land

Eno There I deny my land service But give me your hand, Menas if our eyes had authority, here they might take two thieves kissing 95

Men All men's faces are true, whatsome'er their hands are

Eno But there is never a fair woman has a true face

Men No slander, they steal hearts 100

Eno We came hither to fight with you

Men For my part, I am sorry it is turned to a drinking Pompey doth this day laugh away his fortune

Eno If he do, sure he cannot weep't back again

Men Y'have said, sir We look not for Mark Antony here pray you, is he married to Cleopatra? 105

Eno Cæsar's sister is called Octavia

Men True, sir, she was the wife of Caius Marcellus

Eno But she is now the wife of Marcus Antonius

Men Pray ye, sir? 110

Eno 'Tis true

Men Then is Cæsar and he for ever knit together.

95 *authority*] i.e. as constables

96 *two thieves kissing*] i.e. fraternizing, in a general sense, if the speakers are the 'two thieves,' as lines 92-3 indicate, but line 97 points rather to their hands, which the word *kissing* would suit very well Cf *Rom*, i v 103-4 'For saints have hands that pilgrims' hands do touch / And palm to palm is holy Palmer's *kiss*' and *Ham*, iii ii 355, 'by these pickers and stealers'

97 *true*] honest, as in *1H4*, ii ii 25 S Rowlands, *The Four Knaves* (Percy Society, 1843, p 89), versifies on the

proverb 'When theeves fall out *true* men come by their goods' In the next line there appears to be a play on the word as meaning unsophisticated as well as honest Mr Craig suggests that in 'All men's faces are true,' *true* means (as well as 'honest') 'true indices of character, of their thoughts', and that Enobarbus, as he thinks of the inscrutable eyes of Cleopatra, objects that women's faces, or at any rate fair women's faces, are far from true indices

103-4 *laugh away weep't back*] proverbial, perhaps, but I fail to trace it

- Eno* If I were bound to divine of this unity, I would not prophesy so
- Men* I think the policy of that purpose made more in the marriage than the love of the parties 115
- Eno* I think so too But you shall find the band that seems to tie their friendship together will be the very strangler of their amity Octavia is of a holy, cold, and still conversation 120
- Men* Who would not have his wife so?
- Eno* Not he that himself is not so, which is Mark Antony He will to his Egyptian dish again then shall the sighs of Octavia blow the fire up in Cæsar, and (as I said before) that which is the strength of their amity shall prove the immediate author of their variance Antony will use his affection where it is He married but his occasion here 125
- Men* And thus it may be Come sir, will you aboard? I have a health for you 130
- Eno* I shall take it, sir we have us'd our throats in Egypt
- Men* Come, let's away [Exeunt

119 strangler] *F*, stranger *F2-4*, estranger *Rowe*

115 made] counted

119 strangler] † *Rowe's* reading is an excellent example of the dangers of paying attention to the later Folios, since what he was doing was emending them (not the first, which needed no emendation) and so moving steadily further from the first [R]

120 conversation] behaviour, system of life So in *Per*, II, Gower, 9 'The good in conversation', Rosse, *Mel Heliconum* (1640), p 8 'Before Christ

came, the *Gentiles* were but Ants, men of Earthly conversation,' etc, *Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane* (1662), p 23 'men of debauched consciences and brutish conversations'

127 affection] passion

128 but his occasion] i.e. merely with an eye to expedience

131 us'd] Whether we take this as = made use of or accustomed, the inference of practised pledging is the same

[SCENE VII — *Aboard Pompey's galley, off Misenum*]

Music plays Enter two or three Servants with a banquet

First Serv Here they'll be, man Some o' their plants are
ill-rooted already, the least wind i' the world will
blow them down

Sec Serv Lepidus is high-coloured

First Serv They have made him drink alms-drink

5

Sec Serv As they pinch one another by the disposition, he

Scene VII

1, 4, etc *First (Sec) Serv*] 1 (2) *Ser Rowe*, 1 2 F 4 high-coloured] F2,
high Conlord F

S D a banquet] 1 e as often, a desert with wine Malone quotes *The Life and Death of Thomas, Lord Cromwell*, 1602 [III III, *Supplement to Shakespeare*, II 411] "'Tis strange, how that we and the Spaniard differ, / Their dinner is our banquet after dinner,' etc See also Osborne, *Historical Memoires*, etc 1658 (James I, pt 1, §39) 'And after such suppers huge banquets no lesse profuse, a waiter returning his servant home with a cloak-bag full of dried sweetmeats and confects, valued to his lordship at more than ten shillings the pound'

1 *plants*] a play, as Johnson noted, on the two senses of *plants* For *plants*, a common Latinism for the soles of the feet and the feet themselves, cf Jonson, *Oberon*, line 403 'Knotty legs, and plants of clay', Nashe, *Christ's Tears*, II 63, line 7 'you Pilgrims, that weare the plants of your feete to the likenesse of withered rootes, by barelegd processioning (from a farre) to the Sepulcher,' etc

5 *alms-drink*] ordinarily 'the remains of liquor reserved for alms-people' (*OED*), hence, perhaps, 'leavings' here, possibly mixed leavings, not likely to agree with the recipient Beaumont (Letter to Ben Jonson) speaks of water and claret lees as drink 'So mixt that given to the thirstiest one / 'Twill not prove alms unless he have the stone' Warburton is apparently the sole authority for

'almsdrink' 's being 'a phrase among good fellows to signify that liquor of another's share which his companion drinks to ease him' Can it here = *drink taken as a work of charity*, 1 e to further the reconciliation? See next speech *Almsdrunk* supplies a bitter reflection in Churchyard's *Tragicall Discourse of the Vnhappy Man's Life*, stanza 70 (reprinted in *Bibliographical Miscellanies*, Oxford, 1813, p 31) 'I see some bring from doells an empty cup / Yet craues an *almes*, and shoes a needye hand', etc

6 *pinch disposition*] Some later editors decline to accept the natural explanation that the differing dispositions of the newly reconciled three occasionally clashed Mr Deighton says 'we have no reason for thinking they were quarrelsome in their cups' but the probability of some friction was great, and the next speech has far more point if it signifies that the means (more drink) whereby Lepidus *healed strife between the others*, increased that between himself and his discretion That *pinch disposition* should mean 'as they ply each other hard with the mischievous desire of seeing one another under the table' (Deighton), or = stunt themselves by the disposal of alms (1 e an extra share) to Lepidus, which is according to Mr A E Threlton, or that it refers to 'the sign they give each other regarding "the disposition" of Lepidus to drink' (Col-

cries out 'No more', reconciles them to his entreaty,
and himself to the drink

First Serv But it raises the greater war between him and
his discretion

10

Sec Serv Why, this it is to have a name in great men's
fellowship I had as lief have a reed that will do me
no service, as a partisan I could not heave

First Serv To be called into a huge sphere, and not to be
seen to move in't, are the holes where eyes should be, 15
which pitifully disaster the cheeks

*A sennet sounded Enter CÆSAR, ANTONY, POMPEY, LEPIDUS,
AGRIPPA, MÆCENAS, ENOBARBUS, MENAS, with other
captains*

12 lief] *Capell*, lue *F*, lieve *Fg*

lier), is surely unlikely, as also the
consequence that *No more* = no more
drink, instead of being an exclamation
like 'Soft, Cæsar!' (π 11 83 *ante*), and
that 'reconciles them to his entreaty,'
etc = obtains their assent to his taking
no more and yet persuades himself to
take it

12-13 *a reed that will do me no service*]
† not, I think, 'a reed which will not
serve me well *qua* reed,' but 'a reed,
which (in the nature of the case) is no
use as a weapon' [R]

13 *partisan*] 'a sharp two-edged
sword placed on the summit of a staff
for the defence of foot soldiers against
cavalry' (Fairholt)

14-16 *To cheeks*] According to
the construction, two circumstances,
the call to occupy a high position and
the failure to make a figure in it, are
compared to eyeless sockets *Spheres*
has been regarded as an allusion to
the Ptolemaic system of astronomy,
and the hollow concentric spheres,
each of the first seven with its planet,
with which that system surrounds the
earth The servant's elliptical speech
seems to compare (1) such spheres,
supposing their planets were *unseen*, to
disfiguring eyeless sockets, (2) great
positions in life, meanly tenanted, to

spheres in such a case, and, finally,
Lepidus, the man of no account, to the
hypothetically non-luminous planets
Malone quotes for Shakespeare's use
of *sphere* in connection with *eyes*, *Sonn*
cæx 7, and *Ham*, i v 17 The spheres
aforesaid are those of the Moon, Mer-
cury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter,
Saturn, after them is that of the fixed
stars, and, finally, enfolding all, the
Primum Mobile, which was the first
moved and communicated its motion
to the inner spheres See also on iv xv
10-11 *post*

16 *disaster*] a word of astrological
origin, and so probably suggested here,
as Rolfe notes, by the preceding figure
An adjective *disastered* (cf 'ill-starred')
occurs thrice in the Countess of Pem-
broke's *Antonie* (1595), e.g. in Act II
'us *disastered* men,' 'thus *disastered*
woe'

16 S D *A sennet*] a particular set
of notes (not now known) on the trum-
pet, differing from a flourish Cf
Satromastix (Pearson's *Dekker*, i 222)
'Trumpets sound a flourish, and then a
sennate' See the derivation discussed in
Naylor's *Shakespeare and Music* (1896),
p 178 The forms *sonet*, *sonnet*, have
suggested *sonare*,—*synnet*, *signet*, etc,
signum, as the source

Ant [To Cæsar] Thus do they, sir they take the flow o'
the Nile

By certain scales i' the pyramid, they know,
By the height, the lowness, or the mean, if dearth
Or foison follow The higher Nilus swells, 20
The more it promises as it ebbs, the seedsman
Upon the slime and ooze scatters his grain,
And shortly comes to harvest

Lep Y'have strange serpents there?

Ant Ay, Lepidus 25

Lep Your serpent of Egypt is bred now of your mud by
the operation of your sun so is your crocodile

17 To Cæsar] Capell

18 By certain scales, etc.] Cf Lyly, *Campaspe*, The prologue at the Blacke Friers 'It was a signe of famine to Ægypt, when Nylus flowed lesse than twelve cubites, or more than eightene' Malone thinks Shakespeare got his information from Pory's translation of Leo's *History of Africa* (1600) 'Upon another side of the island standeth an house alone by itselfe, in the midst whereof there is a foure square cesterne or channel of eighteen cubits deep, whereinto the water of Nilus is conveyed by a certaine sluice under ground And in the midst of the cisterne there is erected a certaine piller, which is marked and divided into so many cubits as the cisterne containeth in depth. If the water reacheth only to the fifteenth cubit of the said piller, they hope for a fruitful yeere following, but if [it] stayeth between the twelfth cubit and the fifteenth, then the increase of the yeere will prove but mean if it resteth between the tenth and twelfth cubits, then it is a sign that come will be solde ten ducates the bushel' Reed quotes Holland's *Pliny* (1601), bk v, chap ix, but the resemblance there is more distant

20 foison] profusion, plenty Cf *Tp*, II 1 170, IV 1 110, etc

26 Your] a common colloquialism

So in *Ham*, IV III 22 'Your worm is your only emperor for diet,' etc On its occurrence in the text, Abbott (*Shakespearean Grammar*, §221) observes 'Though in this instance the *your* may seem literally justified, the repetition of it indicates a colloquial vulgarity which suits the character of Lepidus' It may or may not suit his character, but it certainly sets off his temporary condition

bred mud] The doctrine (abiogenesis or equivocal generation) was current in Shakespeare's day, that living matter can be produced from matter without life So Jonson, *The Alchemist*, II 1 171 'Beside, who doth not see, in daily practice, / Art can beget bees, hornets, beetles, wasps, / Out of the carcasses, and dung of creatures, / Yea, scorpions of an herb, being rightly placed?' Cf also Shirley, *The Tractor*, IV II (Mermaid ed., p 137) 'oh that my voice / Could call a serpent from corrupted Nile,' etc, and Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, week 1, day 2, p 31 in 1621 ed 'As on the edges of som standing Lake / The foamy slume itselfe transformeth oft / To green half-Tadpoles, / Half dead, half-living, half a frog, half-mud' At the present time the question has been re-opened owing to the results of certain experiments

- Ant* They are so
Pom Sit,—and some wine! A health to Lepidus!
Lep I am not so well as I should be but I'll ne'er out 30
Eno Not till you have slept, I fear me you'll be in till then
Lep Nay, certainly, I have heard the Ptolemies' pyramids are very goodly things, without contradiction I have heard that 35
Men [*Aside to Pom*] Pompey, a word
Pom [*Aside to Men*] Say in mine ear, what is't?
Men [*Aside to Pom*] Forsake thy seat, I do beseech thee, captain,
 And hear me speak a word
Pom [*Aside to Men*] Forbear me till anon —
 This wine for Lepidus!
Lep What manner o' thing is your crocodile? 40
Ant It is shap'd, sir, like itself, and it is as broad as it hath breadth it is just so high as it is, and moves with it own organs It lives by that which nourisheth it, and the elements once out of it, it transmigrates
Lep What colour is it of? 45

36-8] *As asides first by Rowe* 38 anon —] anon *Whispers in 's Eare F*

30 *I'll ne'er out*] I'll never refuse a pledge, never stand out See *2H4*, v iii 68 (of drinking) 'A' will not out, he is true bred', Massinger, *The Parhamment of Love*, ii 1, at end 'I'll not out for a second,' where it is said by the second person to take up a bet, F Spence's *Lucian* (1684), *The Epistle Dedicatory*, sig C2 'Yet Custom so requiring, I have very slavishly imitated Others, and fancy myself like those Sparks, who will ever be in the Fashion, Let it never be so damn'd Foppish, silly and Troublesome Nay, rather than be out, we'll go upon Trust for Radiculousness and Morhification,' etc

31 *m*] a play on the opposite phrase to 'be out' (so Felltham, *Lusoria*, 1661, xxxv, p 33 'being *m*, I must go on') and the sense 'in drink'

33-4 *pyramids*] a plural peculiar to the bibulous Lepidus, but correspond-

ing with the Latin singular *pyramus*, the common form in Shakespeare's time For the usual plural *pyramides*, cf v ii 61 *post*

42, 46 *it*] its A common flexionless form, transitional between the usual neuter possessive *his* and the later *its* Cf *Lr*, i iv 238-9 'The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long, That it had it head bit off by it young'

44 *elements transmigrates*] Here 'elements' apparently = the vital elements, life, not the complete group of four which compose everything (see on v ii 288 *post*) In 'transmigrates' is probably, as Delius says, a facetious allusion to the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as in *ATL*, iii ii 188, and *Tw N*, iv ii 55-66, unless the word be merely 'rots,' 'passes into other forms of matter,' in a quaint disguise

Ant Of it own colour too
Lep 'Tis a strange serpent
Ant 'Tis so, and the tears of it are wet
Cæs Will this description satisfy him?
Ant With the health that Pompey gives him, else he is a 50
 very epicure
Pom [*Aside to Men*] Go hang, sir, hang! Tell me of that?
 away!
 Do as I bid you —Where's this cup I call'd for?
Men [*Aside to Pom*] If for the sake of merit thou wilt hear
 me,
 Rise from thy stool
Pom [*Aside to Men*] I think th'art mad The matter? 55
 [*Rises and walks aside*]
Men I have ever held my cap off to thy fortunes
Pom Thou hast serv'd me with much faith what's else to
 say?
 Be jolly, lords
Ant These quick-sands, Lepidus,
 Keep off them, for you sink 59
Men Wilt thou be lord of all the world?

52-5] *As asides first by Johnson* 55 S D *Rises*] *Johnson, not in F* 59 for]
F, 'fore Theobald, or Dyce, ed 2 (*S Walker cony*)

48 *tears*] a by-allusion to the popular belief which furnishes a figure in *Oth*, iv 1 257, 2*H6*, iii 1 226 'If the Crocodile findeth a man by the brim of the water, or by the cliff, he slayeth him if he may, and then he weepeth upon him, and swalloweth him at the last' (*Bartholomew* [Berthelet], bk xviii, §33)

56 *held my cap off to*] been a servant to, followed The phrase here seems rather to derive from the etiquette of service at a time when head coverings were more constantly worn than now, than from occasional acts of deference or courtesy, such as 'Off capp'd to him' in *Oth*, i 1 10 (*F*) Cf Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, i 1 (*Camb*, x 213) 'Long Counsel's the office of a servant, / *Mont Stay, sir*, what one example since the time / That first you put your *hat off* to me,

have / You noted in me to encourage you / To this presumption?' In some notes on England quoted by Sir W Besant (*London in the Time of the Tudors*, 1904, p 191) as written in 1558, and translated for and published in *The Antiquarian Repertory*, vol iv, occurs 'The servants wait on the master bare-headed, and leave their *caps* on the buffet'

58-9 *These quick-sands sink*] Perhaps Lepidus collapses here Pompey's health (see line 84 *post*) is too late There is a drinking scene in Heywood's *Iron Age*, i (Pearson's *Heywood*, iii 281) in which Paris is similarly overcome, but feignedly, as afterwards appears, while Thersites has something of the mocking spirit of Enobarbus and the temperance of Cæsar

60-79] For this dialogue, see North, *post*, p 252

Pom What say'st thou?

Men Wilt thou be lord of the whole world? That's twice

Pom How should that be?

Men But entertain it,
And though thou think me poor, I am the man
Will give thee all the world

Pom Hast thou drunk well?

Men No, Pompey, I have kept me from the cup 65
Thou art, if thou dar'st be, the earthly Jove
Whate'er the ocean pales, or sky inclips,
Is thine, if thou wilt ha't

Pom Show me which way

Men These three world-sharers, these competitors, 70
Are in thy vessel Let me cut the cable,
And when we are put off, fall to their throats
All there is thine

Pom Ah, this thou shouldst have done,
And not have spoke on't! In me 'tis villany,
In thee, 't had been good service Thou must know,
'Tis not my profit that does lead mine honour, 75
Mine honour, it Repent that e'er thy tongue
Hath so betray'd thine act Being done unknown,
I should have found it afterwards well done,
But must condemn it now Desist, and drink

Men [*Aside*] For this, 80
I'll never follow thy pall'd fortunes more
Who seeks and will not take, when once 'tis offer'd,

72 there] *F*, then *Pope*, and *Southern MS* notes in *F4*, theirs *Steevens* cony 80
Aside] *Capell*

67 *pales inclips*] fences in, as with
pales embraces Cf *clp*, iv viii 8

69 *competitors*] confederates See on
i iv 3 ante

72 *All there is thine*] † *Pope's* *then* is
attractive, and makes easy sense But
we can retain *F*, I think, so long as we
do not take *there* as a demonstrative,
and do, in thought if not in type, insert
a comma *All there is, thine*, i e 'then all
the world is yours' This is almost
Furness's conjecture (*All there is, is*
thine) but his second *is* is needless [*R*]

81 *pall'd*] decayed, dwindled Compare *Ham*, v ii 9 'When our deep
plots do pall', *Kyd*, i *Ieronimo*, ii iv
54 'Which strooke amazement to
their paul'd speeche,' etc *Pall* is said to
be an abbreviated form of *appal*, both
originally meaning to become or be
made pale So of wine when it loses
colour and becomes vapid by standing
Compare *Spence's Lucian*, 1684, ii 78
'swallow delitious Wine, whilst you
must only drink such as is *pall'd* and
Taplash'

Shall never find it more

Pom This health to Lepidus!

Ant Bear him ashore, I'll pledge it for him, Pompey

Eno Here's to thee, Menas!

Men Enobarbus, welcome! 85

Pom Fill till the cup be hid

Eno There's a strong fellow, Menas

[Pointing to the Attendant who carries off Lepidus

Men Why?

Eno 'A bears the third part of the world, man, see'st not?

Men The third part, then, is drunk would it were all, 90
That it might go on wheels!

Eno Drink thou, increase the reels

Men Come

Pom This is not yet an Alexandrian feast

Ant It ripens towards it, strike the vessels, ho! 95

87 S D Pointing] Steevens, Pointing to Lepidus Rowe, not in F 90 part, then,
is] part, then he is F, part, then is Rowe

91 *go on wheels*] proverbial for 'go fast,' and especially of the world Cf *Gent*, III 1 320, B Rich, *The Honestie of this Age*, 1614 (Percy Society, 1844, p 30) 'They were wont to say, the world did runne on *wheelles* and it may well bee it hath done so in tmes past, but I say now it goes on crouches, for it is waxen old,' etc, A Wilson, *The Inconstant Ladie*, I 1 11 'I am angrie / To see the guddie world run thus o' *wheelles* / In such untoward tracks,' etc, Mabbes's *Celestina*, 1631, ix (Tudor Trans, p 169) 'But such is this world, it comes and goes upon *wheelles*'

92 *increase the reels*] Cf line 115 *post*, and example in note on line 123, *Cor*, II 1 123, also *Histrionastrix*, IV 1 28 (Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, II 57) 'Why should this reeling world (drunke with the juce / Of *Plenties*' bounty),' etc, Heywood, *Rape of Lucrece* (Pearson's repr, v 168) 'heres a giddy and drunken world, it *Reeles*, it hath got the staggers,' etc Douce conjectured *revels* for *reels*, and there is another word *rule*, signifying revel, bustle, rowdy behaviour cf *Tw N*, II III

133, Middleton, *A Chaste Maid*, etc, I 1 208 'Come now, we'll see how the *rules* go within' but there seems no need of change Steevens cleverly conjectured 'and grease the wheels'

95 *strike the vessels*] ? tap the casks So Weber, the editor of Beaumont and Fletcher's works, which supply 'Home, Launce, and *strike* a fresh piece of wine,' etc (*Monsieur Thomas*, v x 42), 'Strike me the oldest Sack,' etc (*Love's Pilgrimage*, II IV (Camb VI, p 272) Dyce adds from Prior's *Alma*, chap III 524 'Strikes not the present tun, for fear / The vintage should be bad next year,' etc The demand comes rather late in the feast, but its giver had had to call thrice for wine, lines 29, 39, 53 *ante* On the other hand, I suspect that a sense 'fill the vessels (i.e. the cups) full' may some day find at least excuse A 'strike' was 'an instrument with a straight edge for levelling (striking off) a measure of grain' (Skeat, *Etymol Dict*, §v), whence came 'strike,' a measure of varying amount, and a verb meaning to level corn to the top of the measure with a 'strike', and

Here's to Cæsar!

Cæs

I could well forbear't

It's monstrous labour when I wash my brain

And it grow fouler

Ant

Be a child o' the time

Cæs Possess it, I'll make answer

98 And it grow] *F*, grows *F2*

further (see Wright, *Eng Dial Dict*), the adverb *strike* = full to the top. Again, the sense 'fill' might conceivably be reached from that of 'to lade a fluid from one vessel into another,' as cane juice into a cooler in sugar-making. This is clearly the sense in Harrison's directions for brewing (Holinshed's Chronicle, 1587, *Description of England*, bk 11, chap vi, p 170) 'and when it hath sodden, she striketh it also, and reserveth it vnto mixture with the rest when time dooth serue therefore.' Just before (p 169) we have 'where it is *stricken* ouer, or from whence it is taken againe,' etc. The suggestion of Holt White again, that the vessels were kettledrums, though entirely neglected, is backed up by the likelihood of a call for a noisy toast in response to Pompey's request for Alexandrian riot. He quotes *Ham*, v 11 284, and Enobarbus, line 108 *post*. The idea of healths to music was familiar apart from Danish customs. Cf Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady*, 1 1 6 'at a gulp, without trumpets', D'Avenant, *Albion*, 1629, 11 (*Dram Works*, 1872, 1, p 36), where, if he had this scene in view, he is a valuable witness for Holt White. 'Cuny Sound high! / *Alb* More wine and noise! Now boy, I celebrate / Valdaura's health— / *Cuny* Bid their instruments speak louder.'

Cf also Shadwell, *The Miser*, 111 11 (*Works*, 1720, 111 52) 'Come on, Musicianers, strike up, hey Here Forsooth, here's your Health, [*He drunks, they flourish*] Ha, Ha, this is the prettiest way of drinking, I vow, it encourages us, as Drums and Trum-

pets do, when we let off our Guns at a Muster', *ibid* (iv 1), p 71 'Oh, if I had but Fiddles to play a Health now!' Steevens's view that 'strike the vessels' may be compared with 'chink glasses,' found a supporter in Cowden Clarke among modern editors.

97 *wash my brain*] Mr Craig compares Nashe, *Anatomie of Absurditie*, 1589 (ed McKerrow, p 41, line 3) 'Euery one knowes that he that washeth his braines with diuers kinds of wines, is the next doore to a drunken man,' etc.

98 *And it grow*] Editors (save Singer, ed 2, '*An it grow*') read with *F2*. But *and* = if (whence the usual *an*) is used by Shakespeare Cf *Tp*, 11 1 187 '*Ant* What a blow vvas there guen? / *Seb* And it had not false flat-long.'

† I think that *and* is more probably the ordinary copula, and *grow* a sub junctive, caused by the feeling that *when* is in effect a conditional, not temporal, conjunction [R].

99 *Possess it*] have your way, enjoy your wish to pledge me, a somewhat freer, but quite intelligible, use of *possess* than e.g. in Jonson's *Volpone*, v 11 15 'He says, sir, he has weighty affairs of state, / That now require him whole, some other time / You may possess him.' Indeed we might boldly explain 'take it' Cf *Tp*, 111 11 102 'Remember / First to possess his books,' etc. Among unnecessary conjectures are *Profess it* (Collier MS and ed 2), *Propose it* (Staunton).

† An anonymous explanation, quoted by Furness, is 'Rather be its master, say I,' which would be wholly convincing if it were not for the 'But' at the

But I had rather fast from all, four days, 100
Than drink so much in one

Eno [To Antony] Ha, my brave emperor,
Shall we dance now the Egyptian Bacchanals,
And celebrate our drink?

Pom Let's ha't, good soldier

Ant Come, let's all take hands,
Till that the conquering wine hath steep'd our sense 105
In soft and delicate Lethe

Eno All take hands
Make battery to our ears with the loud music
The while, I'll place you, then the boy shall sing
The holding every man shall bear as loud
As his strong sides can volley 110
[Music plays Enobarbus places them hand in hand.]

THE SONG

Come, thou monarch of the vine,
Plumpy Bacchus with pink eyne!

101 To Antony] added by Capell 109 bear] Theobald, beate F

opening of the next line, where we should rather expect 'Nay,' or 'Indeed' Even so, I prefer it to any of the others [R]

105-6 steep'd Lethe] Cf *Tw N*, iv 1 66 'Let fancy still my sense in *Lethe* steep', and Armin, *Two Maids of Moreclacke* (1609), Grosart's *Occas Issues*, vol xiii, p 99 'What is thy haste in *leathe steep't*? speak,' etc

109 holding] Malone quotes a pamphlet, *The Servingman's Comfort* (1598) 'A song is to be song, the undersong or holding whereof is, It is merrie in Haul, when Bearded waggas all' This suggests the same meaning as the Somonour's 'stifburdoun' in Chaucer (*Prol*, line 673), a bass part or 'ground melody' But the meaning here must be rather 'refrain', since if Enobarbus directions were followed the boy's song would be drowned by an 'under-song'

112 pink eyne] 'small, winking, half-shut eyes' Steevens quotes Holland's *Pliny*, bk xi [cxxxvii, p 335 E in vol 1,

1601 ed] 'also them that were *pinke-eyed* and had verie small eies they termed *ocellae*' Dyce cites Cotgrave, *Fr and Eng Dict* 'Oeil de rat, a small eye, *pinke-eye*, little sight' Cf also Minshew, *Guide to the Tongues* (1617) 'to Pinke, or winke in slumbering, *pinck-eyed*, *somnuculosus*', Lyly's *Euphues* (W Bond, 1, p 254, line 25) 'if she be gagge toothed, tell hir some merry ieste, to make hir laughe, if *pinke eyed*, some dolefull Historye, to cause hir weepe, in the one hir grinning will shewe hir deformed, in the other hir whynge, lyke a Pigge halfe rosted', Kyd, *Soliman and Perseda* (v iii 7 in *Works*, ed Boas, who prints *pinke-ey'd*) 'The mightie *pinckanyed* brand bearing God', Laneham's *Letter* (Captain Cox, etc, Ballad Society, 1871, p 17) 'the bear with his *pink nyez* leering after his enmiez approach', Harrison's *Description of England* (Holmshed's *Chronicle*, 1587, bk ii, chap vi, p 170) 'and either fall quite vnder the boord, or else not daring to stirre from their

In thy fats our cares be drown'd,
 With thy grapes our hairs be crown'd
 Cup us till the world go round,
 Cup us till the world go round!

115

Cæs What would you more? Pompey, good-night Good
 brother,
 Let me request you off our graver business
 Frowns at this levity Gentle lords, let's part,
 You see we have burnt our cheeks Strong Enobarb 120
 Is weaker than the wine, and mine own tongue
 Splits what it speaks the wild disguise hath almost
 Antick'd us all What needs more words? Good night
 Good Antony, your hand

Pom

I'll try you on the shore

Ant And shall, sir, give's your hand

118 you off our] *Rowe* (semicolon), you of our *F* 122 Splits] *F*₄, Spleet's
F

stooles, sit still *pinking* with their narrow *eyes* as halfe sleeping, till the fume of their aduersarie be digested that he may go to it afresh', D'Avenant, *The Platonic Lovers*, II 1 (*Dramatic Works*, 1872, ed 11, 26) 'O Sir, she hath the prettiest *pinking eyes* / The holes are no bigger than a pistol bore' Even the indefinite among these examples and others point rather to smallness than redness, a sense some think may be also referred to In two or three allusions to the colour of Bacchus' eyes which I have come upon the word *red* is used Compare S Rowlands, *More Knaves Yet?* etc (Percy Society, xxxiv, 1843, p 100) 'What rhume's in Bacchus's eyes? how *red* they looke' etc

113 *fats*] vats, which is the Southern form of the word Cf Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, II 1 373 'Within a tanner's *fat* I oft have eyed a large ox-hide / In liquor mix'd', etc

122 *Splits what it speaks*] a perilously fissile combination of sounds

disguise] OED cites Jonson, *Masque of Augurs*, line 46 'Disguise' what

mean you by that? do you think that his majesty sits here to expect drunkards? See also Shirley, *The Wedding*, v 11 (*Works*, 1833, I 448) 'Raw I am not drunk *Lod* No, but thou art *disguis'd* shrewdly'

123 *Antick'd us*] made antics or grotesques of us Cf Dekker, *The Bel-man of London*, pt 1, 1608 (Temple Classics ed, p 86) 'At the length, drunken healths reeled up and downe the table

The whole *Roome* showed a farre off (but that there was heard such a noyse) like a Dutch peece of *Drollery* for they sat at table as if they had beene so many *Anticks*,' etc

124 *I'll try shore*] This may mean 'I'll test your hospitality ashore,' with time of so doing undefined, but more probably Pompey, fired by the 'Alexandrian feast,' wants to continue the debauch, offers to vie drinking powers on shore then, and actually accompanies the other 'great fellows' This suits Antony's reply and his own 'Come down into the boat' (line 127), which is otherwise rather abrupt to a departing guest

Pom

O Antony,

125

You have my father's house But what, we are friends?
Come down into the boat

Eno

Take heed you fall not

[*Exeunt all but Enobarbus and Menas.*]

Menas, I'll not on shore

Men

No, to my cabin

These drums, these trumpets, flutes! what!

Let Neptune hear we bid a loud farewell

130

To these great fellows sound and be hang'd,

sound out!

[*Sound a flourish, with drums*]

Eno Hoo! says 'a There's my cap

Men Hoo! Noble captain, come

[*Exeunt*]

127-8 fall not Menas,] fall not Menas, F 127 S D *Exeunt*] *Camb edd*,
not in F 128 Men] *Capell*, not in F See note 130 a loud] *Rowe*, ed 3,
aloud F

126 *my father's house*] See on II vi 27
ante

127-8 †I have given the usually
accepted reading, but it is not, I think,
satisfactory Enobarbus' warning
would be more naturally addressed (in
spite of his 'plainness') to his equal,
Menas, than to the triumvirs and
Pompey, 'Menas' is a rather awk-
wardly formal opening to 'I'll not on
shore', and would even Enobarbus
thus force his continued company on
Menas? F reads as follows

Eno Take heed you fall not *Menas*

Ile not on shore,

No to my cabin

thus giving the whole speech to Eno-
barbus, which is clearly wrong, since

the cabin is Menas' I suggest that the
MS had *Menas* twice, once as vocative,
and once as speech heading, and that
we should read

Eno Take heed you fall not, Menas

Men I'll not on shore No, to my
cabin

Menas is then saying, in effect, 'No
need for your kindly warning, I'm not
going ashore, no, we're both going to
my cabin, but let's give the great fel-
lows a good send-off' [R]

132 *says 'a*] †Again I retain the
usual reading (F *Hoo says a*), but with
even more doubt, and suggest *Hoo*
Sessa! (an easy 'auditory error'), cf
Str, Ind 1 5-6, 'Let the world slide
Sessa!' [R]

ACT III

[SCENE I — *A plain in Syria*]

Enter VENTIDIUS as it were in triumph, with SILIUS, and other Romans, Officers, and Soldiers, the dead body of PACORUS borne before him

Ven Now, darting Parthia, art thou struck, and now
Pleas'd fortune does of Marcus Crassus' death
Make me revenger Bear the king's son's body
Before our army Thy Pacorus, Orodes,
Pays this for Marcus Crassus

Sil Noble Ventidius, 5
Whilst yet with Parthian blood thy sword is warm,
The fugitive Parthians follow Spur through Media,
Mesopotamia, and the shelters whither
The routed fly So thy grand captain Antony
Shall set thee on triumphant chariots, and 10
Put garlands on thy head

ACT III

Scene 1

S D Enter] *F, but omitting 'with Silius Soldiers'* 5 *Sil*] *Theobald, Romaine*
F 8 *whither*] *F2, whether F*

[*Scene 1* See North, *post*, p 253]
1 *darting Parthia*] alluding to the well-known tactics of Parthian horsemen, who, having flung their darts, avoided close quarters by swift retreat, shooting flights of arrows backwards as they fled

2 *Crassus' death*] Crassus (who formed the first triumvirate with Pompey and Cæsar) was defeated 53 B C in the plains of Mesopotamia, by Surenas, the general of Orodes, King of Parthia and father of Pacorus, and was treacherously killed during a con-

ference proposed by the victor Orodes poured melted gold into the dead man's mouth, bidding him take his fill of what he had so coveted in life This act possibly suggested II v 34-5 *ante*

9 *grand captain*] as often See e.g. John Heywood, *The Spider and the Fly*, 1556 (Spenser Soc, 1894, pp 218, 223, etc.) "The *graund Capitaine* standing amid mong this rout, / Was the fle, that', etc, *Roister Doister*, IV VIII 26 'I my selfe will mounsure *graunde capitaine* undertake'

Ven

O Silus, Silus,

I have done enough A lower place, note well,
 May make too great an act For learn this, Silus,
 Better to leave undone, than by our deed
 Acquire too high a fame, when him we serve's away 15
 Cæsar and Antony have ever won
 More in their officer than person Sossius,
 One of my place in Syria, his lieutenant,
 For quick accumulation of renown,
 Which he achiev'd by the minute, lost his favour 20
 Who does i' the wars more than his captain can,
 Becomes his captain's captain and ambition,
 The soldier's virtue, rather makes choice of loss,
 Than gain which darkens him
 I could do more to do Antonius good, 25
 But 'twould offend him And in his offence
 Should my performance perish

Sil

Thou hast, Ventidius, that

Without the which a soldier and his sword
 Grants scarce distinction Thou wilt write to Antony?

Ven

I'll humbly signify what in his name, 30
 That magical word of war, we have effected,
 How with his banners, and his well-paid ranks,
 The ne'er-yet-beaten horse of Parthia
 We have jaded out o' the field

12-13 *A lower act*] Subordinate position may make an achievement too great for safety

20 *by the minute*] continually
lost his favour] There is possibly no authority for this statement. It is not in North (see *post*, p. 254) or Plutarch, as was kindly pointed out to me by Professor A. C. Bradley

22 *captain's captain*] So is Desdemona called (*Oth*, II i 74)

22-3 *ambition virtue*] Cf *Oth*, III iii 350 'the big wars / That make ambition virtue!'

24 *darkens him*] *him*, i.e. the soldier, as ambition and the rest shows, otherwise it is equally true that he who becomes his captain's captain darkens

him With *darkens*, cf *Cor*, IV vii 5 'And you are *darken'd* in this action, sir, / Even by your own'

29 *Grants scarce*] equivalent to 'scarcely admit of' Warburton first explained lines 28-9 to mean, that, without discretion, there would be very little difference between a soldier and his sword Steevens quotes *Cor*, I iv 52-4 'O noble fellow! / Who sensibly out-dares his senseless sword, / And, when it bows, stands up'

31 *word of war*] Cf II ii 44 *ante*

34 *jaded*] 'driven like worn-out nags' (Kittredge) Cf Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, I i 179 'Oh! this same whorson Conscience, how it *jades us*!'

Sil Where is he now?
Ven He purposeth to Athens, whither, with what haste 35
 The weight we must convey with 's will permit,
 We shall appear before him On there, pass along!
 [Exeunt]

[SCENE II — *Rome An ante-chamber in Cæsar's house*]

Enter AGRIPPA *at one door*, ENOBARBUS *at another*

Agr What, are the brothers parted?
Eno They have despatch'd with Pompey, he is gone,
 The other three are sealing Octavia weeps
 To part from Rome, Cæsar is sad, and Lepidus,
 Since Pompey's feast, as Menas says, is troubled 5
 With the green-sickness
Agr 'Tis a noble Lepidus
Eno A very fine one O, how he loves Cæsar!
Agr Nay, but how dearly he adores Mark Antony!
Eno Cæsar! Why he's the Jupiter of men
Agr What's Antony? The god of Jupiter 10
Eno Spake you of Cæsar? How, the nonpareil?
Agr O Antony, O thou Arabian bird!
Eno Would you praise Cæsar, say 'Cæsar,' go no
 further
Agr Indeed he plied them both with excellent praises
Eno But he loves Cæsar best, yet he loves Antony 15

Scene II

11 Spake] *F*, Speak *Fg*

6 *green-sickness*] the form of anæmia supposed peculiar to lovesick damsels 'Lepidus, it is insinuated, is languishing for love of Cæsar and Antony' (L in *The Eversley Shakespeare*) And they are parodying his ecstasies

7 *A very fine one*] This comment was possibly evoked by the sound of the word *Lepidus*, which, to me, at least, is rather suggestive of some kind of sea creature of the merter type But perhaps this is seeing too much (†and

why not evoked by the Latin meaning of *lepidus* = elegant? [R]) Lepidus is presently a 'shard-borne beetle' (line 20 *post*)

12 *Arabian bird*] a frequent phrase for the fabulous phoenix, of which but one was supposed to exist at a time Cf *Cym*, I vi 17

13 'Cæsar,' go no further] So 'Cæsar' implies the perfection of generous clemency in III xiii 55 *post* 'Further than he is Cæsar'

Hoo' hearts, tongues, figures, scribes, bards, poets,
cannot

Think, speak, cast, write, sing, number, hoo,
His love to Antony But as for Cæsar,
Kneel down, kneel down, and wonder

Agr

Both he loves

Eno They are his shards, and he their beetle, so 20

[*Trumpet within*]

This is to horse Adieu, noble Agrippa

Agr Good fortune, worthy soldier, and farewell

Enter CÆSAR, ANTONY, LEPIDUS, and OCTAVIA

Ant No further, sir

Cæs You take from me a great part of myself,
Use me well in 't Sister, prove such a wife 25
As my thoughts make thee, and as my farthest band
Shall pass on thy approof Most noble Antony,

16, 17 Hoo' *Fr-3*, Ho *F4* 16 figures] *Hanmer*, Figure *F* 20 beetle,
so] *F*, beetle, [*Trumpet within*] so, *Capell*, and, with minor modifications, most edd
No trumpet in F

16-17 Hoo' hearts Think]
I retain Hoo' of *F* as characteristic of
the speaker and also appropriate to the
semi-hysterical adulation of *Lepidus*
which he mimics A common practice
of sonneteers is aimed at in the ensu-
ing correspondence of a succession of
nouns with another of verbs, in separ-
ate lines Cf *B Griffin, Fidessa*, 1596,
Sonnet xlvii 'I see, I hear, I feele, I
know, I rue, / My fate, my fame, my
praise, my losse, my fall,' etc

figures] metaphors and similes

17 cast] compute Cf *ii vi 54 ante*
number] versify, put into 'numbers'

20 They beetle] *Steevens* 'They
are the wings that raise this heavy lump-
ish insect from the ground So, in *Mac-*
beth [iii ii 42] "the shard-borne beetle"
See also *Cym*, iii iii 20, 'The sharded
beetle' The shards are properly the
horny cases or sheaths of the insect's
wings

beetle, so] † I can see no good reason
for deserting the pointing of *F*, though

from *Capell* various editors have in-
clined to insert the *S D* (which is not
in *F*) between beetle and so, making the
latter a part of *Enobarbus*' comment
on the trumpet-call [*R*]

21-2] It looks as though there must
have been some second thoughts here
Two more unmistakable exit lines it
would be hard to find, but the passage
of asides later in the scene is effec-
tive

26-7 as my farthest band ap-
proof] such as I would stake anything
that you will prove to be Band is fre-
quent for bond, as in *Two Wise Men*,
etc, 1619, i 1 (see *Chapman*, ed 1875,
Poems, etc, p 388, col 1, line 46 'a
friend of mine must use a thousand
pound and intreats my band', etc For
approof indicating the proved posses-
sion of a quality, compare *All's W*, ii
v 3 'Of very valiant approof' † And
for pass on cf *Meas*, ii 1 22-3 'what
knows the laws / That thieves do pass
on thieves?' about which there has

Let not the piece of virtue which is set
 Betwixt us, as the cement of our love
 To keep it builded, be the ram to batter 30
 The fortress of it, for better might we
 Have lov'd without this mean, if on both parts
 Thus be not cherish'd

Ant Make me not offended
 In your distrust

Cæs I have said

Ant You shall not find,
 Though you be therein curious, the least cause 35
 For what you seem to fear so, the gods keep you,
 And make the hearts of Romans serve your ends!
 We will here part

Cæs Farewell, my dearest sister, fare thee well,
 The elements be kind to thee, and make 40
 Thy spirits all of comfort! fare thee well

31 for better] *F*, for far better *Capell*

been needless difficulty, since it does not mean that thieves pass laws, but that the law takes no cognizance of the fact that thieves (in the jury) may be *passing verdicts on thieves* (in the dock) [R]

28 *piece of virtue*] So in *Tp*, 1 ii 56 'The mother was a *piece of virtue*', Sir T Browne, *Hydriotaphia*, Epistle Ded 'A complete *piece of Virtue* must be made from the Centos of all Ages, as all the beauties of *Greece* could make but one handsome *Venus*' *Piece* often = masterpiece, as here (most probably) and in v ii 99 *post*, but is also used merely for 'creature' and the like words So in *The Taming of a Shrew* (*Six Old Plays*, Nichols, 1779, p 212) '*Ferando* 'Tis wel done, *Kate Emelia* I sure, and like a loving *piece*,' etc

29 *cement*] accented on first syllable, like the verb in ii 1 48 *ante* So commonly

31 *for*] †*Capell's* emendation is graphically easy, and tempting [R]

32 *mean*] *mean* and *means* were used indifferently Cf *Adlington's Apuleius*,

1566, chap xxii (Tudor Trans, p 124) 'shewing a *mean* to Psyches to save her life,' etc †But I suspect that *mean* here has the sense of 'intermediary' [R]

33-4 *Make In your distrust*] This does not seem to = 'In your distrust of me, don't offend me,' but rather 'Make me not offended *with*, or *at* your mistrust,' the use of *in* being comparable to one or other of those remarked by Abbott (*Shakespearean Grammar*, §162) Cf *Troil*, ii iii 150 '*In* second voice we'll not be satisfied'

35 *curious*] particular, minute in inquiry The word is used of careful or over-exactness of any kind See *Rom*, i iv 31, 'What *curious* eye doth quote deformities'

40-1 *The elements comfort*] Most likely a parting wish for favourable weather, Mason quotes *Oth*, ii 1 45 Johnson, however, thought that the elements composing the human body are invoked to act harmoniously and induce cheerfulness See on v ii 288 *post*

Oct My noble brother¹

Ant The April's in her eyes, it is love's spring,
And these the showers to bring it on Be cheerful

Oct Sir, look well to my husband's house, and—

Cæs What, 45
Octavia?

Oct I'll tell you in your ear

Ant Her tongue will not obey her heart, nor can
Her heart inform her tongue—the swan's down feather,
That stands upon the swell at the full of tide,
And neither way inclines 50

Eno [Aside to Agr] Will Cæsar weep?

Agr [Aside to Eno] He has a cloud in's face

Eno [Aside to Agr] He were the worse for that were he a horse,
So is he being a man

Agr [Aside to Eno] Why, Enobarbus?
When Antony found Julius Cæsar dead,
He cried almost to roaring, and he wept 55
When at Philippi he found Brutus slain

49 at the full] *F*, at full *F2*, and many edd 51-9 *Aside*] *Capell*

43-4 *The April's on*] Cf Bodenheim's *Belvedere*, 1600 (Spenser Soc, 1875, p 28) '*MAY is not loves month, MAY is full of flowers, / But dropping APRIL Love is full of showers*'

47-8 *nor can her tongue*] Cleopatra, at parting, is similarly at a stand in I iii 89 'something it is I would,—'

48-50 *the swan's inclines*] It is not clear whether Octavia's heart is the swan's down feather, swayed neither way on the full tide of emotion at parting with her brother to accompany her husband, or whether it is merely the inaction of heart and tongue, which is compared to that of the feather (†Surely *the full of tide* = slack water, just before the ebb starts [R])

52 *were he a horse*] According to Madden (*Diary of Master William Silence*) 'a cloud' was simply the absence of a white star His authorities are Gervase Markham (*Cavalry*) for the star as 'an excellent good marke'

and the viciousness of 'the horse that bath no white at all', and Sadler, *De Procreandis*, etc, *equis*, 1587 *Equus nebula (ut vulgo dicitur) in facie, cujus vultus tristis est et melancholicus, pære vituperatur* Such a horse he says later (p 339 in 1907 ed) is Arcite's unlucky steed in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, v iv 63, 'a blacke one, owing / Not a hayre worth of white,' etc The Duke of Newcastle, who wrote both on horsemanship and the management of horses, uses the phrase something like Shakespeare in *The Truphant Widow* or *The Medley of Humours A comedy*, 1677 (see extracts in Lamb's *Specimens*, Bohn's ed, p 511), of a footpad going to execution '2nd Woman Look, what a down look he has' 1st Woman Ay, and what a cloud in his forehead, goody Twattle, mark that 2nd Woman Ay, and such frowning wrinkles, I warrant you, not so much as a smile from him'

Eno [*Aside to Agr*] That year, indeed, he was troubled with
a rheum,
What willingly he did confound, he wail'd,
Believe 't, till I wept too

Cæs No, sweet Octavia,
You shall hear from me still, the time shall not
Out-go my thinking on you 60

Ant Come, sir, come,
I'll wrestle with you in my strength of love
Look here I have you, thus I let you go,
And give you to the gods

Cæs Adieu, be happy!

Lep Let all the number of the stars give light 65
To thy fair way!

Cæs Farewell, farewell! [*Kisses Octavia*]

Ant Farewell!

[*Trumpets sound Exeunt*]

59 wept] *Theobald*, weepe *F*

57 *a rheum*] a running at the eyes
Cf *D'Avenant, The Just Italian*, iv
(*Works*, i 258 in *Dramatists of Restoration*) 'This is a sickly *rheum*, and not /
Compunction in my eyes', and *Oth*,
iii iv 52, 'salt and sullen *rheum*'

58 *What willingly wail'd*] Cf
v 1 28-30 *post*

59 *wept*] *Steevens* and *Capell* retain
weep of *F* The latter unaccountably
thinks it out of character for *Enobarbus*
to weep, and says on *Believe't till I*
weep too, 'Which he thought would be
never' The former defends it as im-
plying something like this Believe it
till you see me weeping on the like
occasion, and then I'll thank you for
the same undeserved credit for com-
passion

61 *Out-go you*] outstrip, etc, i e
my loving thought of you shall keep
pace with the passage of time

62 *I'll wrestle love*] After what

precedes, this gives the impression of
meaning that Antony would contend
with *Cæsar*—with whom *Octavia* was
finding it so hard to part—by putting
forth the strength of his love to separate
them, till we read the next line (63)
which seems to confine Antony's ex-
pression of love to *Cæsar*, whom he
embraces *Wrestle* thus refers at once to
their embrace and rivalry in mutual
goodwill

63-6 † The speech distribution does
not seem wholly satisfactory *Lepidus*'
'thy' must surely be addressed to
Octavia, as *Cæsar*'s 'Adieu, be happy'
presumably also is But I feel that 'thus
I let you go, and give you to the gods'
is much more appropriate from *Cæsar*
to *Octavia* than from Antony to
Cæsar However, any attempts at re-
adjustment, even if one could find any
warranty for them, only create new
difficulties [R]

[SCENE III — *Alexandria Cleopatra's palace*]*Enter* CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, IRAS, and ALEXAS

Cleo Where is the fellow?

Alex Half afeard to come

Cleo Go to, go to Come hither, sir

Enter the Messenger as before

Alex Good majesty,

Herod of Jewry dare not look upon you,
But when you are well pleas'd

Cleo That Herod's head

I'll have but how, when Antony is gone, 5
Through whom I might command it? Come thou near

Mess Most gracious majesty!

Cleo Didst thou behold

Octavia?

Mess Ay, dread queen

Cleo Where?

Mess Madam, in Rome,

I look'd her in the face, and saw her led

Between her brother and Mark Antony 10

Cleo Is she as tall as me?

Mess She is not, madam

Cleo Didst hear her speak? is she shrill-tongu'd or low?

Mess Madam, I heard her speak, she is low-voic'd

Cleo That's not so good he cannot like her long

*Scene III*3 *Herod of Jewry*] See on 11 28 *ante*

14 *That's good*] That is less favourable news Those who suppose the words to mean 'That is no great commendation,' on the strength of what immediately follows, and of 'dull of tongue' (line 16), perhaps do not sufficiently consider Cleopatra's hopeful mood after her recent despair 'He cannot like her long' is probably merely a rebound from a momentary doubt, and = Nevertheless, he cannot, etc As to 'dull of tongue'—in her new mood of interpreting everything to her

own advantage, she so presently construes *low-voic'd*, just as she degrades any lower stature than her own to *dwarfish*, though she would doubtless have preferred the messenger to say 'shrill-tongued' Cf 11 32 *ante* On the contrary supposition, Malone (as in 11 v 82-3) again applauds a suggestion of Queen Elizabeth in Cleopatra, because, forsooth, the Continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle* says 'She was tall of stature, her voyce loud and shrill' († I think Case got entangled in his own argument, and that the second explanation is the right one [R.])

- Char* Like her? O Isis! 'tis impossible 15
Cleo I think so, Charmian dull of tongue, and dwarfish!
 What majesty is in her gait? Remember,
 If e'er thou look'st on majesty
Mess She creeps
 Her motion and her station are as one
 She shows a body, rather than a life, 20
 A statue, than a breather
Cleo Is this certain?
Mess Or I have no observance
Char Three in Egypt
 Cannot make better note
Cleo He's very knowing,
 I do perceive 't, there's nothing in her yet
 The fellow has good judgment
Char Excellent 25
Cleo Guess at her years, I prithee
Mess Madam,
 She was a widow—
Cleo Widow? Charmian, hark
Mess And I do think she's thirty
Cleo Bear'st thou her face in mind? is 't long or round?
Mess Round, even to faultiness 30
Cleo For the most part, too, they are foolish that are so
 Her hair what colour?
Mess Brown, madam and her forehead
 As low as she would wish it

18 look'st] *F*, look'd'st *Pope*

19 *station*] manner of standing, as in *Ham*, III iv 58

28 *she's thirty*] † Cleopatra passes on without comment. She was herself 38 (see North, *post*, p 246) [R]

30-1 *Round so*] Steevens derives Cleopatra's comment from the old writers on physiognomy, quoting in exactly Hill's *Pleasant History*, etc (1613), p 218. The information is given repeatedly of both head and face 'The face very *rounde*, argueth such an one to be foolish,' etc (p 86b), 'The head spericall or thoroughly *round*, doth denote a quicke moving,

vnstableness, forgetfulnesse, small discretion, and little wit in that person' (p 26b), 'The head short and very *round*, to be forgetfull and foolish. The head long in fashion to the Hammer, to be prudent and wary' (p 218, wrongly paged 118), 'The face very little and *round*, to be foolish' (p 220, wrongly 120). In Mabbe's *Celestina*, 1613, 1 (Tudor Trans, p 32), Calisto, enumerating Melibea's beauties, says 'The forme of her face rather long then *round*'

32 *hair what colour*] See II v 114 *ante*
 33 *As low it*] The phrase *cm-*

- Cleo* There's gold for thee,
 Thou must not take my former sharpness ill,
 I will employ thee back again, I find thee 35
 Most fit for business Go, make thee ready,
 Our letters are prepar'd [Exit Messenger]
- Char* A proper man
- Cleo* Indeed he is so I repent me much
 That so I harried him Why, methinks by him,
 This creature's no such thing
- Char* Nothing, madam 40
- Cleo* The man hath seen some majesty, and should know
- Char* Hath he seen majesty? Isis else defend!
 And serving you so long
- Cleo* I have one thing more to ask him yet, good Charmian
 But 'tis no matter, thou shalt bring him to me 45
 Where I will write, all may be well enough
- Char* I warrant you, madam [Exeunt]

[SCENE IV — *Athens A room in Antony's house*]

Enter ANTONY and OCTAVIA

- Ant* Nay, nay, Octavia, not only that,—
 That were excusable, that and thousands more
 Of semblable import,—but he hath wag'd
 New wars 'gainst Pompey, made his will, and read it

37 *Exit*] *Hammer, not in F*

ployed by the Messenger is still a cant one I once overheard a chambermaid say of her rival,—“that her legs were as thick as she could wish them” (Steevens) A low forehead discredits beauty in *Antonio and Mellida*, iv 1 179 ‘Her beautie is not half so ravishing / As you discourse of, she hath a freckled face, / A lowe forehead, and a lumpish eye’ Similarly in *The City Wit*, iv 1 (Pearson’s *Brome*, 1 339) ‘*Ruffin* here, he writes that you [i.e. *Josina*] have a grosse body, a dull eye, a lowe forehead, a black tooth, a fat hand, and a most lean purse’

39 *harried*] harassed, maltreated, from the original sense ravaged, laid waste Minshew, *The Guide to the Tongues*, 1617 (cited by Malone), has ‘to *Harrie*, *turmoile* or *vex*’
by him] from his account

Scene iv

3 *semblable*] similar, as in *2H4*, v 1.
 72 It sometimes appears as a noun, so in Day’s *English Secretarie* (1599), p 35 ‘whereof no hystorie hath the *semblable*, no region the match,’ etc
 4–5 *made his will* ear] In Plutarch it is Antony’s will which Cæsar reads

To public ear 5
 Spoke scantily of me when perforce he could not
 But pay me terms of honour, cold and sickly
 He vented them, most narrow measure lent me
 When the best hint was given him, he not took't,
 Or did it from his teeth

Oct O my good lord, 10
 Believe not all, or if you must believe,
 Stomach not all A more unhappy lady,
 If this division chance, ne'er stood between,
 Praying for both parts
 The good gods will mock me presently, 15
 When I shall pray, 'O, bless my lord, and husband'
 Undo that prayer, by crying out as loud,
 'O, bless my brother' Husband win, win brother,
 Prays, and destroys the prayer, no midway
 'Twixt these extremes at all

Ant Gentle Octavia, 20
 Let your best love draw to that point which seeks
 Best to preserve it if I lose mine honour,
 I lose myself better I were not yours
 Than yours so branchless But, as you requested,
 Yourself shall go between's the mean time, lady, 25

6-7 me when honour, cold] *Rowe's pointing (approx)*, me, When
 Honour cold *F* 8 them, most] *Rowe*, then most *F* 8-9 measure
 lent me When him,] *Rowe's pointing (approx)*, measure lent me, When
 him *F* 9 not took't] *Theobald (Thirby conj)*, not look't *F*, had look't
F2, o'er-look'd *Rowe* 16 pray] *F*, praying *Rowe* 24 yours] *F2*,
 your *F*

see North, *post*, p 261 †It is unlike
 Shakespeare to desert North on so
 specific a point, and I think there is
 certainly corruption The vagaries of
 F's punctuation, as well as other awk-
 wardnesses, suggest an unusually dif-
 ficult passage in MS [R]

9 not took't] The emendation is too
 probable to be rejected, although *not*
look't might signify 'took no notice'

10 from his teeth] Cf 'Frae the teeth
 forward [Not from the heart]' (Hen-
 derson's *Scottish Proverbs*, ed 1876, p
 110) Pyc quotes *The Wild Gallant*, iv

1 (see Scott's *Dryden*, 1808, II 78) 'I
 am confident she's angry but from the
 teeth outwards'

12 Stomach] resent So in Danett's
Comunes, bk II, chap VIII 'whereof
 scoffes arise, which they that are
 scoffed *stomacke*' Cf also I II 9 *ante*

12-20] Octavia's 'situation and
 sentiments' are compared with those of
 Blanche in *John*, III 1 327 *et seq*, and
 Volumnia in *Cor*, V III 97 *et seq* Cf
 also North, *post*, pp 254-5

15 presently] on the instant, imme-
 diately, as in II II 159 *ante*

I'll raise the preparation of a war
 Shall stain your brother make your soonest haste,
 So your desires are yours

Oct Thanks to my lord
 The Jove of power make me most weak, most weak,
 Your reconciler! Wars 'twixt you twain would be 30
 As if the world should cleave, and that slain men
 Should solder up the rift

Ant When it appears to you where this begins,
 Turn your displeasure that way, for our faults
 Can never be so equal, that your love 35
 Can equally move with them Provide your going,
 Choose your own company, and command what cost
 Your heart has mind to [Exeunt

30 Your] *F2*, You *F* 32 solder] *Pope*, soader *F* 38 has] *F2*,
 he's *F*

27 *stain your brother*] i.e. belittle him by comparison, eclipse any preparations in his power Cf *Tottel's Miscellany*, 1557 (Arber's repr, p 163) 'one whose face will *staine* you all', *Robert Laneham's Letter*, ed Furnivall, 1871, pp 60-1 'And, too say truth what, with myne eyz, az I can amorously gloit it, my deep diapason, my wanton warblz, my running, my tuning, and my twynkling, I can gracify the matters az well az the prowdest of them, and waz yet neuer *stayned*, I thank God', Churchyard, *The Worthiness of Wales*, 1587 (repr 1776, p 98) 'What newe things now, can *staine* those deedes, our fathers old have done' Boswell's conjecture *stay* has found adopters, but even were the metaphor in the text less common, its source is obvious

28 *So your desires are yours*] †I suppose simply 'So you have what you want' But it could equally well mean 'Granted that this is what *you* want, and not something that your brother has instigated you to want' [R]

32 *solder rift*] 'I heard that the Earl of Northumberland lues apart againe from his lady now shee hath brought him an heire, which he sayd was the *soder* of their reconcilment', etc (*Manningham's Diary*, 1602, Camden Society ed, p 79)

34-6 *for our faults them*] i.e. for our faults cannot possibly be so equally balanced that your love for the one or the other of us will not be lessened ('Spoken resentfully, these words are his own condemnation, and he knows it'—D W)

[SCENE V — *The same Another room*]*Enter ENOBARBUS and EROS, meeting**Eno* How now, friend Eros?*Eros* There's strange news come, sir*Eno* What, man?*Eros* Cæsar and Lepidus have made wars upon Pompey*Eno* This is old, what is the success?

Eros Cæsar, having made use of him in the wars 'gainst Pompey, presently denied him rivalry, would not let him partake in the glory of the action, and not resting here, accuses him of letters he had formerly wrote to Pompey, upon his own appeal, seizes him, so the poor third is up, till death enlarge his confine

Eno Then, world, thou hast a pair of chaps, no more,
And throw between them all the food thou hast,
They'll grind the one the other Where's Antony?

Eros He's walking in the garden—thus, and spurns
The rush that lies before him, cries, 'Fool Lepidus!'

Scene v

S D *meeting*] *Capell*, not in *F* 13 world] *Hanmer*, would *F* hast] *Hanmer*,
hadst *F* chaps,] *Theobald*, no comma *F* 15 the one the other] *Capell*
(*Johnson cong*), the other *F*

5 *success*] issue See on II iv 9 *ante*
7 *rivalry*] equality, the rank and
rights of a partner For *rivals* = asso-
ciates, cf *Ham*, I i 13 'The rivals of
my watch'

10 *his own appeal*] his own (Cæsar's)
accusation or impeachment Cf *R2*,
I i 4 'the boisterous late appeal'

11 *up*] shut up, as appears from
'till death enlarge his confine' Cf
Brome, *The Antipodes*, iv xii *ad fin*
'Ioy Sure your Lordship / Meanes not
to make your house our prison Let
By / My Lordship but I will for this one
night / See, sir the keyes are in my
hand Y^e are up, / As I am true Letoy',
and Beaumont and Fletcher, *The*
Island Princess, v 1 (Camb, viii 158)
which is almost a gloss 'You hear

Armusia's *up*, honest Arm / Clapt up
in prison, 'Lepidus was compelled
to live at Circei under strict observa-
tion, but not deprived of his private
wealth or office of Pontifex Maximus
13-15 *Then, world other*] *chaps* =
jaws 'Cæsar and Antony will make
war on each other, though they have
the world to prey upon between them'
(Johnson) A metaphor related to that
of the 'pair of chaps,' though different,
occurs at the close (iii 487) of Jonson's
Sejanus, and is derived from Suetonius,
Tiberius, cap 21 'The Roman race
most wretched, that should live /
Between so slow jaws, and so long a
bruising'

16-17 *spurns The rush*] Cf *Ham*, iv
v 6 'Spurns enviously at straws'

And threats the throat of that his officer
That murder'd Pompey

Eno Our great navy's rigg'd.

Eros For Italy and Cæsar More, Domitius, 20
My lord desires you presently my news
I might have told hereafter

Eno 'Twill be naught,
But let it be Bring me to Antony

Eros Come, sir [Exeunt.]

[SCENE VI — *Rome Cæsar's house*]

Enter AGRIPPA, MÆCENAS, and CÆSAR

Cæs Contemning Rome he has done all this, and more
In Alexandria here's the manner of't
I' the market-place, on a tribunal silver'd,
Cleopatra and himself in chairs of gold
Were publicly enthron'd at the feet sat 5
Cæsarion, whom they call my father's son,

18-19 *officer Pompey*] Pompey, defeated in Sicily, escaped to the East, and there, failing in designs on Antony's provinces, met his fate, in all probability by Antony's orders, however he might throw the obloquy of the deed on his lieutenants. See North, *Cæsar Augustus*, in *The Lives of Epaminondas*, etc 1610, pp 1166-7 'Whilst *Antony* made warre with the Parthians, or rather unfortunately they made warre with him to his great confusion his Lieutenant *Titus* found the meanes to lay hands vpon *Sextus Pompeus* that was fled into the Ile of Samos, and then fortie yeares old whom he put to death by *Antony*'s commandement for which fact he was so hated of the people of Rome, that though he had giuen them the pastime of certaine playes at his owne cost and charges, they draue him out of the Theater'

21 *presently*] at once See II ii 159,
III iv 15 *ante*

22-3 'Twill be naught, But *be*] Presumably 'Twill be something of no consequence he wants me for but no matter unless Enobarbus foresees a disastrous issue of the expedition. Thielton, I take it, implies this in giving references here 'for Enobarbus' prescience', and by including III viii 11 (1 e III x 1 *post* in the present text) among them, perhaps intends us to notice the very expression there, 'Naught, naught,' etc

Scene vi

[See North, *post*, p 271]

SD] † I have no suggestion to make about the odd order of entrance, except the highly conjectural one that there may at some stage have been a brief interchange between Agrippa and Maecenas, covering the entrance and also giving Cæsar a point of departure for his statement, which at present begins somewhat in mid-air [R]

6 *Cæsarion*] See on II ii 228 *ante*

And all the unlawful issue that their lust
 Since then hath made between them Unto her
 He gave the stablishment of Egypt, made her
 Of Lower Syria, Cyprus, Lydia, 10
 Absolute queen

Mæc This in the public eye?
Cæs I' the common show-place, where they exercise
 His sons he there proclaim'd the kings of kings,
 Great Media, Parthia, and Armenia,
 He gave to Alexander, to Ptolemy he assign'd 15
 Syria, Cilicia, and Phœnicia she
 In the habiliments of the goddess Isis
 That day appear'd, and oft before gave audience,
 As 'tis reported, so

Mæc Let Rome be thus inform'd
Agr Who, queasy with his insolence already, 20
 Will their good thoughts call from him

Cæs The people knows it, and have now receiv'd
 His accusations
Agr Who does he accuse?
Cæs Cæsar, and that having in Sicily
 Sextus Pompeius spoil'd, we had not rated him 25
 His part o' the isle Then does he say, he lent me
 Some shipping unrestor'd Lastly, he frets
 That Lepidus of the triumvirate

13 he there] *Johnson*, hither *F* kings of kings] *Rowe*, King of Kings *F*
 19 reported, so] *F2*, reported so *F* 23 Who] *F*, Whom *F2* 28 trium-
 virate] *F2*, Triumpherate *F*

10 *Lydia*] So North, but *Plutarch*,
Libya, which *Upton* pointed out and
Johnson adopted *Bocchus* is king of
Libya in line 69 *post* and in North and
Plutarch

13 *he there*] *F*'s *hither* is, as *Dover*
Wilson points out, very probably a
 compositor's handling of an MS *hether*
 (cf the frequent printing of *whether* for
whither) so crowded that the space had
 disappeared, if so, *Johnson*'s emenda-
 tion is nearer to the original than at
 first glance looks likely

17 *Isis*] See on I 11 61 *ante*

19-21 *As 'tis* from *him*] † I have

retained *F*'s lineation, since *Hanmer*'s
 regularization (making the lines *As*
'tis thus Inform'd insolence,
Already from him), though adopted
 by almost all editors but *Knight*,
 creates so unnaturally jerky a rhythm
 that irregularity seems preferable
 [R]

22 *knows*] See on I iv 21 *ante* *Have*
now, etc, appears to show that *people* is
 not a singular collective here

25 *rated*] apportioned by estimate,
 a rare extension of the usual meaning
 'computed,' 'valued' See on III xi 69
post

Should be depos'd, and, being, that we detain
All his revenue

Ag Sir, this should be answer'd 30

Cæs 'Tis done already, and the messenger gone
I have told him, Lepidus was grown too cruel,
That he his high authority abus'd,
And did deserve his change for what I have conquer'd,
I grant him part but then in his Armenia, 35
And other of his conquer'd kingdoms, I
Demand the like

Mæc He'll never yield to that

Cæs Nor must not then be yielded to in this

Enter OCTAVIA with her Train

Oct Hail, Cæsar, and my lords! Hail, most dear Cæsar!

Cæs That ever I should call thee castaway! 40

Oct You have not call'd me so, nor have you cause

Cæs. Why have you stol'n upon us thus? You come not
Like Cæsar's sister the wife of Antony
Should have an army for an usher, and
The neighs of horse to tell of her approach, 45
Long ere she did appear The trees by the way
Should have borne men, and expectation fainted,
Longing for what it had not Nay, the dust
Should have ascended to the roof of heaven,
Rais'd by your populous troops but you are come 50
A market-maid to Rome, and have prevented

29 and, being, that] and being, that *Rowe*, And being that, *F* 39 lords!]
L F 42 have you] *F*, hast thou *F2* us] *F*, me *F2*

29 *and, being, that*] Boswell (1821 Var) reads *and, being that* This, in sense, corresponds with the reading of *F*, but makes clumsy both rhythm and construction

32 *too cruel*] Shakespeare is following North (see p 259, *post*) but 'cruelty is the last vice we should associate with his mild Lepidus' (D W)

39 *lords*] † I owe to Dr Brooks the suggestion that *F*'s *L* stands for the plural, and not, as most editors take it, for the singular Octavia thus greets

both Maecenas and Agrippa—as she naturally would—instead of only one of them [R]

50 *populous*] similarly used in Hall's *Chronicle* (1548), Richard III, yere ii, fol xvi [b] 'where the duke not far of lay encamped wyth a *populous* army and a host of great strength and vigor,' etc, and again, *ibid*, yere iii, fol xxix [a]

51 *prevented*] come too soon to allow or possibly just in the modern sense

The ostentation of our love, which, left unshown,
Is often left unlov'd we should have met you
By sea, and land, supplying every stage
With an augmented greeting

Oct Good my lord, 55

To come thus was I not constrain'd, but did it
On my free will My lord, Mark Antony,
Hearing that you prepar'd for war, acquainted
My grieved ear withal, whereon I begg'd
His pardon for return

Cæs Which soon he granted, 60

Being an abstract 'tween his lust and him.

Oct Do not say so, my lord

61 abstract] *F*, obstruct *Theobald* (*Warburton*) and most edd

52 *ostentation*] public manifestation, full display *Theobald* read *ostent*, and *S Walker* conjectured *ostention*, for metrical reasons

52-3 *which, left unlov'd*] As it stands the text might conceivably mean *which*, if not outwardly manifested, is often left without return, unreciprocated, but it much more probably signifies a feeling which, if not openly exercised, often ceases to be felt at all. The ungenerous sentiment in a brother must be put down to *Cæsar's* momentary displeasure, unless we take *our* (line 52) to include *Octavia*, which much modifies its force. †But *Cæsar* is displeased, not with *Octavia*, but with *Antony*, who has slighted her, and I have no doubt that the required sense is 'love which is unshown is often thought to be unfelt,' *unlov'd* being a sort of passive construction of a cognate accusative. Along these lines the *Collier MS* held *unlov'd*, or, even better, *Singer's felt* (a transposition error), adopted by *Hudson*, are tempting. But I think the sense is possible even with *F's* reading, taking *left* = written off as [R]

61 *abstract*] *F's abstract* has found plenty of defenders, beginning with *Henley* and *Steevens*. *Knight* thinks it refers to *Octavia* as 'something separ-

ating him [*Antony*] from the gratification of his desires' *Schmidt*, who calls *obstruct* 'an idle conjecture of modern editors,' explains *abstract* as 'the shortest way for him and his desires, the readiest opportunity to encompass his wishes.' Presumably, this is suggested by the sense of *abstract* as a brief or epitome. See on I iv 9 *ante* †It is true that *obstruct* (as *Case* admitted, while accepting it) is found nowhere else, and that it makes the syntax awkward, since it must refer to *Octavia* (an absolute construction, 'you being an obstruct') whereas *abstract* refers directly to *Octavia's return*. But (i) *Shakespeare* often uses verbs as nouns, e.g. *Gent*, iv iii 8, 'your ladyship's *impose*,' 2*H6*, iii 1 160, 'false accuse,' and (ii) both sense and elliptical syntax feel to me peculiarly *Shakespearean*, and I have retained *F's* reading only on the principle that one should not accept an emendation on mere 'preferability' [R based on *Case's* material]. But it is also possible that *abstract* is being used not in *Schmidt's* sense, but simply = abstracting, or removal, so that the sense, admittedly compressed, could be, 'Your return being the removal of something (which stood in the way between his lust and him)' [R]

- Cæs* I have eyes upon him,
And his affairs come to me on the wind
Where is he now?
- Oct* My lord, in Athens
- Cæs* No, my most wronged sister, Cleopatra 65
Hath nodded him to her He hath given his empire
Up to a whore, who now are levying
The kings o' the earth for war He hath assembled
Bocchus, the king of Libya, Archelaus
Of Cappadocia, Philadelphos, king 70
Of Paphlagonia, the Thracian king Adallas,
King Manchus of Arabia, King of Pont,
Herod of Jewry, Mithridates, king
Of Comagene, Polemon and Amyntas,
The kings of Mede and Lycaonia, 75
With a more larger list of sceptres
- Oct* Ay me most wretched,
That have my heart parted betwixt two friends,
That does afflict each other!
- Cæs* Welcome hither
Your letters did withhold our breaking forth
Till we perceiv'd both how you were wrong led, 80
And we in negligent danger Cheer your heart,

78 does] *F*, do *F*2 80 wrong led] *F*, wrong'd *Capell* and several *edds*, reading perceived for metre

69-75 Upton points out some confusion of kings and kingdoms here Cf North, *post*, p 262

72 *Manchus*] So in North, *F* reads *Mauchus*, and Plutarch *Malchus*

78 does] See on i iv 21 *ante*

80 *wrong led*] †I doubt if we are justified in emending, and *Capell*'s emendation assumes a compositor's error not so easy to account for as at first sight it looks, since, apart from the error in *perceived* it involves the supposed insertion by the compositor of a space and two letters—two letters, both *l* and *e*, since Shakespeare would not write *wronged* just to produce a feminine ending, but *wrongd*—and insertions of this kind are less natural than omissions On the other hand it is

impossible to be happy with *F*'s reading Not only does it produce a very awkward rhythm, but it makes it almost impossible to put the stress on *you* which is demanded by the contrast with *we* in the next line

I wonder whether we ought to consider this alongside the *wrangle* in *Th*, v i 174, where the word must, I think, however slight the support of dictionaries, mean 'play false' To mis-read *wrangled* as *wrong led* would have been much more natural than so to mis-read *wrongd*, though we should still be left with the need to alter *perceiv'd* [R.]

81 *neghgent danger*] danger through negligence For the transferred epithet, compare *Wint*, i ii 397 'In ignorant concealment'

- Be you not troubled with the time, which drives
 O'er your content these strong necessities,
 But let determin'd things to destiny
 Hold unbewail'd their way Welcome to Rome, 85
 Nothing more dear to me You are abus'd
 Beyond the mark of thought and the high gods,
 To do you justice, makes his ministers
 Of us, and those that love you Best of comfort,
 And ever welcome to us
- Ag* Welcome, lady 90
Mac Welcome, dear madam
 Each heart in Rome does love and pity you,
 Only the adulterous Antony, most large
 In his abominations, turns you off,
 And gives his potent regiment to a trull, 95
 That noises it against us

88 makes] *F*, make *F2* his] *F*, them *Capell* and most *edd*, their *Theobald*

84-5 *let determin'd their way*] † Let predestined events go unbewailed to their appointed end The sentence would not be worth comment if it were not that some editors want to take to *destiny* with *determin'd*, as 'things determined-to destiny,' i.e. 'predestined'—which seems to me awkward in syntax and redundant in sense [R]

87 *Beyond the mark*] beyond the reach, probably a metaphor from archery, as Deighton points out

88 *makes his*] So *F* *Makes* (plural) is probably correct (see on I iv 21 *ante*), and its identity with the singular form may be responsible for *his* of the folios, but if the reading had been *its* instead of *his*, there would have been no doubt that Collier (1843), who retained *his*, did right in referring it to justice instead of to the *high gods* In 1858, he meekly accepted Singer's rebuke and objection that justice is not personified here, and that if it were, *his* would still be inapplicable (presumably, as not feminine), apparently not reflecting that if *his*=*its*, as often, both objections are invalid cf *Ham*, iv v 124-5 'treason Acts little of *his* will'

Why did *F2* alter *makes* and not *his*?

93 *large*] *large* in *Ado*, referring to language, II iii 217, '*large* jests,' and iv 1 52, 'word too *large*' = free, licentious, a sense often attributed here More probably it is here = wide, unbounded The *OED* has 1574, *Hellowes*, *Guevara's Fam Ep* (1577), 63, 'It is not a just thing to be *large* in sinning, and short in praying' See also *Mac*, III iv 11 'Be *large* in mirth'

95 *regiment*] rule, authority Very frequent So Jonson, *New Inn*, II vi 251 'Host A royal sovereign' / *Lord L* And a rare stateswoman' I admire her bearing / In her new regiment'

trull] harlot the commonest but not invariable sense of the word Cf *The Four Elements* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, I 44) 'For to satisfy your wanton lust, / I shall appoint you a *trull* of trust,' with *Phaer* and *Twyne's Virgil* (this reference is Steevens's), [bk xi, sig R7 in 1607 ed.] 'Pure virgins, with *Tarpeia* wielding glittering axe in fight / Italian *trulls*,' etc

96 *noises it*] makes a noise, is clamorous *Mabbe*, *Celestina*, 1631, I (Tudor Trans, p 39) has 'Not one

Oct

Is it so, sir?

Cæs

Most certain Sister, welcome pray you,

Be ever known to patience My dear'st sister! [Exeunt]

[SCENE VII — *Near Actium Antony's camp*]*Enter CLEOPATRA and ENOBARBUS*

Cleo I will be even with thee, doubt it not

Eno But why, why, why?

Cleo Thou hast forspoke my being in these wars,
And say'st it is not fit

Eno Well, is it, is it?

Cleo If not denounc'd against us, why should not we 5
Be there in person?

Scene VII

5 If denounc'd] *Boswell* (*Malone conj.*), If not, denounc'd *F.* Is't not denounc'd *Roule*, If not, denounc't *Malone*, Is't not? Denounce *Steevens* 1793 (*Tyrwhitt conj.*)

stone that strikes against another, but presently *noyseth* out, Old whore', Milton (*Paradise Regained*, iv 488) describes certain terrors as 'nousing loud / And threatening nigh'

98 *known to patience*] Cf this circumlocution for 'patient' with the scriptural 'acquainted with grief'

Scene VII

3 *forspoke*] spoken against See North, *post*, p 260 The verb commonly = curse, bewitch, as in *Look About You*, 1600, sc 26 (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vii 465) 'I think I was *fore-spoken* at the teat, / This damn'd rogue serv'd me thus' but also occurs in senses forbid, speak against, speak evil of *OED* quotes 1579, J Stubbes, *Gaping Gulf*, E viij (b), 'If he should speede (which God *forespeake*)', 1611, W Sclater, *Key [to the Key of Scripture]* (1629), 84 'The fashion of most men, in such judgements, is to cry out of ill tongues that have *forespoken* them'

5-6 *If not denounc'd person*] If the war were not proclaimed against me,

why should I not be there in person? i.e. even if the sufficient reason that the war is proclaimed against me—as you well know—did not exist for my presence, what objection could you find to it? I suggest this as at least a possible interpretation of Malone's text, because (1) the simpler 'If the war is not proclaimed against me, why,' etc., would contain a hypothesis clean contrary to the fact, the war having been proclaimed against Cleopatra, and, indeed, Cleopatra alone excluding Antony, as sufficiently appears in North (see *post*, p 261), and (2) because Malone's own interpretation, 'If there be no particular denunciation against me, why should we not be there in person?' obscures the relation of *denounc'd* to *these wars*, tacitly making *denounc'd* impersonal, whereas the uses of *denounce* and *denounce against* make that relation almost inevitable See, for example, Herbert of Cherbury, *Poems* (ed Collins, 1881, p 77) 'Denounce an open war', Florio's *Montaigne*, i v (Temple Classics, i 31)

Eno [*Aside*] Well, I could reply
 If we should serve with horse and mares together,
 The horse were merely lost, the mares would bear
 A soldier and his horse

Cleo What is 't you say?

Eno Your presence needs must puzzle Antony, 10
 Take from his heart, take from his brain, from's time,
 What should not then be spar'd He is already
 Traduc'd for levity, and 'tis said in Rome
 That Photinus, an eunuch, and your maids

6 *Aside*] Johnson 14 Photinus, an] *Delius*, no comma in F

'the custome beareth, that they never undertake a warre, before the same be denounced,' etc The same objections apply to Deighton's further step, in 'If there is no special injunction against my taking part in these wars, why should I not be present in person?' Rowe's reading, '*Is't not denounc'd against us*' (in Hanmer, '*'gainst us*') gives an excellent sense, and is adopted in one or the other form by some editors The other conjectures *denounc't* and *denounce* need not disturb the folio comma after *If not*, and depend on the use of *denounce* as in Turberville's translation of Ovid's Epistle from Phyllis to Demophoon (Steevens's reference), '*Denounce to me what I have doone,*' etc, but they, too, have to infer disconnection between *denounc'd* and *wars* I record Mr A. E. Threlton's explanation of the exact folio text, retaining the comma, though unable to accept it He says "if not" is equivalent to "otherwise," and the meaning is 'it must be fit, for since the wars are declared against us personally, how can it be improper for us to take the field in person?' Cf lines 16-18 '† The commentators are, I think, almost all too much preoccupied with the (admittedly common) association of 'denounce' and 'war' If for the moment we forget that, is not Cleopatra's meaning perfectly clear (as it evidently was to Deighton)? If there is no express prohibition

against my being in the field, can you give me any valid reason why I should not be there?" Enobarbus gives two reasons, one in an aside, and then one direct to her, a purely military reason, with not so much as an allusion to the question whether the war had been declared against Cleopatra or not [R]

7-9 *If we should* *his horse*
 † another example of commentators' silence I have to admit that I do not see the precise point of Enobarbus (presumably) ribaldry There is perhaps a play on 'serve' in its breeders' as well as in its military sense, but this is not very helpful The critical word is 'bear,' which has apparently never had the specific meaning ('be mounted by') which is here needed and which 'take' (see *OED*) has had since 1577 (though that meaning is no doubt suggested by Cleopatra at 1 v 21) (See *OED*, but see also *H5*, iii vii 50, and *Rom*, i iv 94) And Shakespeare's bawdry, though sometimes complicated, is almost always precise When one is puzzled it is, I think, better to admit it than pass over without comment a passage which may be puzzling to other readers besides oneself [R]

8 *merely*] utterly So, often Cf *Ham*, i ii 137 'things rank / Possess it *merely*'

14 *Photinus, an eunuch*] If Shakespeare strictly followed the corre-

Manage this war

Cleo Sink Rome, and their tongues rot 15
That speak against us ! A charge we bear i' the war,
And as the president of my kingdom will
Appear there for a man Speak not against it,
I will not stay behind

Enter ANTONY and CANIDIUS

Eno Nay, I have done,
Here comes the emperor
Ant Is it not strange, Canidius, 20

That from Tarentum, and Brundusium
He could so quickly cut the Ionian sea,
And take in Toryne ? You have heard on't, sweet ?

Cleo Celerity is never more admir'd
Than by the negligent
Ant A good rebuke, 25

Which might have well becom'd the best of men,
To taunt at slackness Canidius, we
Will fight with him by sea

Cleo By sea, what else ?

Can Why will my lord do so ?

Ant For that he dares us to't

Eno So hath my lord dar'd him to single fight 30

Can Ay, and to wage this battle at Pharsalia,
Where Cæsar fought with Pompey But these offers,
Which serve not for his vantage, he shakes off,
And so should you

Eno Your ships are not well mann'd,

23 Toryne] *F*₂, Troine *F*

sponding passage in North, as given *post*, p 261, to which Delius—who is responsible for the comma after Photinus—drew attention, the words 'an eunuch' do not describe Photinus (the eunuch who was the cause of Pompey the Great's murder), but stand for Mardian Plutarch gives 'Pothinus', as does North in his life of Cæsar

16 *A charge war*] See North, *post*, p 260

23 *take in Toryne*] occupy, etc Cf 1

1 23 *ante* See North, *post*, p 263, and for Tarentum and Brundusium, *ibid* 26 *becom'd*] So in *Cym*, v v 407, *A Report*, etc, 1591 (*The Revenge*, ed Arber, p 28) 'And no man could haue lesse *becommed* the place of an Orator for such a purpose, then this *Morice of Desmond*'

27 *To taunt at*] 'to cast as a taunt at' (Deighton) The gerundial infinitive 30-2 *So hath Pompey*] See North, *post*, p 263

Your mariners are muleters, reapeis, people 35
 Ingross'd by swift impress In Cæsar's fleet
 Are those that often have 'gainst Pompey fought,
 Their ships are yare, yours heavy, no disgrace
 Shall fall you for refusing him at sea,
 Being prepar'd for land

Ant By sea, by sea 40

Eno Most worthy sir, you therein throw away
 The absolute soldiership you have by land,
 Distract your army, which doth most consist
 Of war-mark'd footmen, leave unexecuted
 Your own renowned knowledge, quite forgo 45
 The way which promises assurance, and
 Give up yourself merely to chance and hazard,
 From firm security

Ant I'll fight at sea

Cleo I have sixty sails, Cæsar none better

Ant Our overplus of shipping will we burn, 50
 And, with the rest full-mann'd, from the head of
 Actium

Beat the approaching Cæsar But if we fail,
 We then can do 't at land

35 muleters] Muliters *F2*, Milters *F*

51 Actium] *F2*, Action *F*

35 *muleters*] the contemporary form
 Cf Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, iv 1 8
 'Three thousand pioners, and a thou-
 sand coachmen, / Besides a number
 almost numberless / Of drudges,
 negroes, slaves, and *muleters*,' etc See
 also, and for the passage generally,
 North, *post*, p 263

36 *impress*] press gang work, as in
Troil, ii 1 107

38 *yare*] nimble, easily manœuvred
 Cf ii 11 211 *ante*, iii xiii 131, v 11 282
post, and Gorges' *Lucan* (1614), lib 3,
 p 109 'But the *Massilian* gallies are /
 Of saile and sturage much more *yare*, /
 Nimble and light to leaue or take, /
 And on their staies quick speed can
 make,' etc ('on their staies' =
 'come round quickly,' when tacking)

39 *fall*] befall, as in *John*, i 1 78,
Fairfall, etc

43 *Distract*] *Distract* had the senses
 'confuse,' as now, and 'disjoin,'
 'divide' See the example on line 76
post, and also the participle in *A Lover's*
Complaint, 231 Schmidt assigns the
 latter here, and although 'confuse'
 sorts suspiciously well with the ensuing
 appeal to the nature of the army,
 which consisted—as the soldier says,
 line 65 *post*—of men who 'Have used to
 conquer standing on the earth, / And
 fighting foot to foot,' the passage in
 North, *post*, p 264, confirms his
 view The speech is there given to
 Canidius

44 *leave unexecuted*] give no scope for
 the use of

47 *merely*] utterly, as in line 8 *ante*
 52-3 *if we fail*, *We then can do't at*
land] † a dangerous doctrine in war
 We may remember the ill-fated at-

Enter a Messenger

Thy business ?

Mess The news is true, my lord, he is descried,
Cæsar has taken Tornyne 55

Ant Can he be there in person ? 'Tis impossible,
Strange, that his power should be Canidius,
Our nineteen legions thou shalt hold by land,
And our twelve thousand horse We'll to our ship,
Away, my Thetis !

Enter a Soldier

How now, worthy soldier ? 60

Sold O noble emperor, do not fight by sea,
Trust not to rotten planks do you misdoubt
This sword, and these my wounds ? Let the Egyptians
And the Phœnicians go a-ducking we
Have us'd to conquer standing on the earth, 65
And fighting foot to foot

Ant Well, well, away !

[Exeunt Antony, Cleopatra, and Enobarbus]

Sold By Hercules I think I am i' the right

Can Soldier, thou art but his whole action grows
Not in the power on 't so our leader's led,
And we are women's men

Sold You keep by land 70
The legions and the horse whole, do you not ?

69 leader's led] *Theobald*, Leaders leade *F*

tempt to force the Gallipoli straits by
sea, and what followed [R]

57 *power*] forces, as below, line 76,
and commonly

58-9 *nineteen legions* horse] See
North, *post*, p 267

60 *Thetis*'] 'Antony may address
Cleopatra by the name of this sea
nymph, because she had just promised
him assistance in his naval expedition,
or perhaps in allusion to her voyage
down the Cydnus, when she appeared
like *Thetis* surrounded by the Nereids'
(Steevens, confusing with *Tethys*)

61-6] See North, *post*, p 264

64 *a-ducking*] as a result of 'rotten
planks' perhaps, though Deighton ex-
plains 'take to the water like ducks'
Cf Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scorn-
ful Lady*, II II 112 "'Tis your turn next
to sink, you shall *duck* twice before I
help you'

68-9 *his power on't*] His course
in the war is shaped without regard
to where his real strength lies, or,
more closely, his action does not
spring from the sources of its possible
strength

Can Marcus Octavius, Marcus Justeus,
Publicola and Cælius, are for sea
But we keep whole by land This speed of Cæsar's
Carries beyond belief

Sold While he was yet in Rome, 75
His power went out in such distractions as
Beguil'd all spies

Can Who's his lieutenant, hear you?

Sold They say, one Taurus

Can Well I know the man

Enter a Messenger

Mess The emperor calls Canidius

Can With news the time's in labour, and throws forth, 80
Each minute, some [Exeunt

72 *Can*] *Pope*, *I en F* 78 *Taurus*] *Theobald*, *Towrus F throughout* Well
1] *Roue* (*ed 3*), *Well*, *I F* 80 *in*] *Rowe*, with *F* throws] throws *F*,
throes *Theobald*

72-4 *Marcus Octavius*, etc.] See
North, *post*, p 265, *whole by land*,
p 267

75 *Carrus*] from the language of
archery, as *Steevens* suggests Cf
with the whole passage, *Daniel*, *A*
Funerall Poeme Vpon the Earle of Devon-
shire, lines 217-20 (*Works*, *Grosart*, 1
180) 'Here is no roome to tell with
what strange speed / And secrecy he
vsed to preuent / The enemies designes,
nor with what heed / He marcht be-
fore report,' etc

78 *Taurus*] in *North*, *post*, p 265
† *F*'s spelling suggests our 'modern'
pronunciation (*Henslowe*, by the
way, contrariwise spells *Faustus* as
'*Fostus*') [R]

80 *in*] † *Rowe*'s emendation is, I
think, so probable as to merit insertion

in the text The compositor would
easily pick up and repeat the *with* from
five words before, and *with labour* is an
almost impossible phrase [R]

throws] † *Theobald*'s emendation (or
rather re spelling since *throu e* is com-
mon Elizabethan spelling for *throes*) has
been almost universally accepted, but
is less convincing on examination than
at first sight *Steevens* quotes in sup-
port *Tp*, II 1 238 (one of the very rare
occurrences of *throes* as a verb) 'a birth
indeed / Which throes thee much to
yield' where again *F* reads *throwes* But
the image here is of a difficult birth,
and the object of the verb is the person
in labour Here the object is the thing
born, and the image is that of a series of
births, with no question of difficulty, as
of an animal producing a litter [R]

[SCENES VIII-X — *A plain near Actium*]

[SCENE VIII]

*Enter CÆSAR and TAURUS, with his army, marching**Cæs* Taurus!*Taur* My lord?*Cæs* Strike not by land, keep whole, provoke not battle

Till we have done at sea Do not exceed

The prescript of this scroll our fortune lies

Upon this jump

5
[*Exeunt*]

[SCENE IX]

*Enter ANTONY and ENOBARBUS**Ant* Set our squadrons on yond side o' the hill,

In eye of Cæsar's battle, from which place

We may the number of the ships behold,

And so proceed accordingly

[*Exeunt*]

[SCENE X]

*CANIDIUS marcheth with his land army one way over the stage,**and TAURUS, the lieutenant of CÆSAR, the other way After**their going in, is heard the noise of a sea-fight**Alarum Enter ENOBARBUS**Eno* Naught, naught, all naught, I can behold no longer*Scene VIII*S D *Enter*] *Cambridge edd*, *F* has no and Taurus*Scene VIII*

6 *jump*] hazard The noun occurs here only in Shakespeare, but the verb in *Mac*, I vii 7, and elsewhere *OED* has s v 1601, Holland, *Pliny*, II 219, 'It [hellebore] putteth the Patient to a *jump* or great hazzard'

Scene IX

1-4] Cf iv x 4-9 *post*
1 *squadrons*] bodies of troops, not necessarily cavalry, cf *Oth*, I i 22-4
'That never set a squadron in the field, / Nor the division of a battle

knows, / More than a spinster'

2 *battle*] embattled army, as very often More particularly it applies to the main body So in Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769), I 51 'The order was this, Captain Lister led the forlorn hope, Sir Alexander Ratchiffe and his regiment had the vauntguard, my Lord of Dublin led the *battle* Sir Arthur Savage the rear, the horse,' etc

Scene x[See North, *post*, p 265]S D] *F*, though it has '*Enter Scarrus*'

The Antoniad, the Egyptian admiral,
 With all their sixty fly, and turn the rudder
 To see't, mine eyes are blasted

Enter SCARUS

Scar Gods and goddesses,
 All the whole synod of them!
Eno What's thy passion?
Scar The greater cantle of the world is lost
 With very ignorance, we have kiss'd away
 Kingdoms, and provinces
Eno How appears the fight?
Scar On our side, like the token'd pestilence,
 Where death is sure Yon ribaudred nag of Egypt,— 10

10 ribaudred] *Fr-3*, ribauldred *F4*, ribauld *Rowe*, and others

at line 4, also brings him in along with Enobarbus at the opening of the scene. This is probably an example of the not uncommon 'anticipatory' SD (cf v ii 318 and 327)

1 *Naught*] i.e. come to naught, ruined D W well compares *Cor*, iii 1 230

2 *The Antoniad admiral*] See North, pp 261-2 *Admiral* occurs commonly for the most considerable ship of a fleet or as the equivalent of our 'flagship' See *A Report*, etc 1591 (*The Revenge*, Arber's repr, p 18) 'The names of her Maiesties shippes were these as followeth the *Defiance*, which was Admirall, the *Reuenge* Vice-admirall,' etc, also *iH4*, iii iii 28

5 *synod*] nearly always, as here, of an assembly of the gods So in *Cor*, v ii 73 'The glorious gods sit in hourly *synod* about thy particular prosperity,' etc

6 *cantle*] originally = corner, and so portion, piece, etc Here (see *OED*) 'a segment of a circle or sphere' See also *iH4*, iii 1 101, and *The Magnificent Entertainment*, etc (Bullen's *Middleton*, vii 223) 'The FOUR ELEMENTS, in proper shapes, artificially and aptly expressing their qualities, went round in a proportionable and even

circle, touching that *cantle* of the Globe (which was open) to the full view of his Majesty' etc

7 *With*] by, as often Cf North, *post*, p 251, line 8

9 *token'd pestilence*] Certain red spots have always been reckoned extremely ominous symptoms in plague, and, as Steevens tells us, were considered and called 'God's tokens' of speedy death, in Shakespeare's time He quotes *LLL*, v ii 424, and *Two Wise Men*, etc, 1619, iv ii See Chapman, *Minor Poems*, etc, ed 1875, p 405, col 1, line 19 'A will and a tolling bell are as present death as God's *tokens*' Sylvester (*Du Bartas*, *The Trophies*, near the end) calls them '*Tokens of Terror*', and Dekker, *The Bel-man of London*, 1608 (Temple Classics ed, p 241) has 'where the dore of a poore Artificer (if his child had died but with one *Token* of death about him) was close ram'd up,' etc Yet Dr Forman lived to record in his *Diary*, under 1592 'and the 6 of Julie I toke my bed and had the plague in both my groines, and some moneth after I had the red *tokens* on my feet as brod as halfepece, and yt was 22 wickes before I was well agaim, the which did hunder me moch'

10 *ribaudred nag*] foul, wanton jade

Whom leprosy o'ertake!—1' the midst o' the fight,
 When vantage like a pair of twins appear'd
 Both as the same, or rather ours the elder,—
 The breeze upon her, like a cow in June,
 Hoists sails, and flies

15

14 The breeze her] *In parentheses in F* June] *F2 (Iune), Inne F*

Malone, Collier (ed 1), Knight, adopt Steevens's conjecture *ribald-rid*, but 'A *ribaudrous* and filthie tongue'—first quoted by Steevens from Baret's *Alveare*, 1580, and urged by Singer with addition from Horman's *Vulgaria* 'Refrayne fro such foule and *rebaudry* wordes'—makes *ribaudred* a probable form Gould's conjecture *ribanded* would else attract, as a natural expression of disgust at the 'flying flags' which seem to have impressed Enobarbus (III xiii 11 *post*), and because race-horses were decked with ribands, as also, for sale purposes, unservicable jades Cf *The Country Captain*, 1649, 1 (*Captain Underwit*, Bullen's *Old Plays*, II 333) 'What thing's this that looks so like a race Nagg trick'd with ribbands?' That the flags deck the ship, not Cleopatra, is of little consequence Collier (ed 2) and Singer adopt Tyrwhitt's conjecture, *hag* for *nag*, in view of *magic*, line 19, but *nag* for a runaway, and as applied to women (see 2H4, II iv 207), is too probable Cf also *Swetnam the Woman Hater*, etc., 1620, I 11 'Those that have good wives ride to Hell Vpon ambling Hackneyes, and all the rest Vpon trotting Iades to the devill' † This last quotation gives some support to Steevens's *ribald-rid* (1 e—though most of the editors who adopt it are too delicate to explain what the odd word means—'a trollop whom every casual debauchee can "mount"'—but the objections to it are, I think, two it is too complicated, though effective, a derogatory image for Scarus' state of mind, and it is feeble in sound, so that no actor, I believe, would hesitate a moment between it and *ribaudred* Scarus means, I fancy, little more than

the modern colloquial 'bloody' [R]

11 *leprosy*] Steevens seems to think the word used in a sense appropriate to the stigma in *ribaudred* See Donne, *Elegy IV*, line 60 'By thee the silly amorous sucks his death / By drawing in a *leprous* harlot's breath' and Fairfax, *Eclogue the Fourth* (*The Muses Library*, 1741, p 373) 'But such the Issue was of that Embrace, / That deadly Poyson thro' her Body spread, / Rotted her Limbs, and *leprous* grew her Face' As Johnson observes, however, leprosy was 'an epidemical distemper of the Egyptians' See Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, *The Furies*, lines 513-16 'So Portugall hath *Phthisiks* most of all, / *Eber Kings-euls*, *Arné the Suddain-Fall*, / *Sauoy the Mumps*, *West-India*, *Pox*, and *Nyle* / *The Leprosie*', etc

13 *the elder*] Steevens compares *Cæs*, II 11 46 'We are two lions littered in one day, / And I *the elder* and more terrible'

14-15 *The breeze flies*] † *breeze* = gadfly, though there may be a pun on the ordinary sense The picture seems clear enough—a gadfly-stung cow in the heat of summer suddenly charging across a meadow—but it has provoked a spate of comment and question (rather of the 'When is a cow not a cow? When it's a nag' variety) is it the nag that is stung, or the cow? who hoists sails, the nag, the cow, or Cleopatra? Staunton proposed a heroic, if unwise, cutting of one of the knots by reading *tail* for *sails* But the trouble all arises from failure to realize Shakespeare's frequent high-handedness with metaphor, and the speaker's state of mind Scarus is furiously angry, and when he gets to the cow he has forgotten all about his first derogatory

Eno That I beheld
 Mine eyes did sicken at the sight, and could not
 Endure a further view

Scar She once being loof'd,
 The noble ruin of her magic, Antony,
 Claps on his sea-wing, and (like a doting mallard) 20
 Leaving the fight in heighth, flies after her
 I never saw an action of such shame,
 Experience, manhood, honour, ne'er before
 Did violate so itself

Eno Alack, alack!

Enter CANIDIUS

Can Our fortune on the sea is out of breath, 25
 And sinks most lamentably Had our general
 Been what he knew himself, it had gone well
 O, he has given example of our flight,
 Most grossly by his own!

Eno Ay, are you thereabouts? Why, then, good-night 30
 Indeed

21 heighth] *F*, heigh] *Theobald* and *edd*

28 he] *F*₂ (hee), his *F*

nag—anyway leprosy and a pair of twins have already intervened. And I suppose that if Enobarbus had been pedantic enough to challenge his syntax he would have said that Cleopatra, momentarily compared to a cow, was the subject of *hoists*. For the image, cf. Jonson, *The New Inn*, v. iii. 3. 'Runs like a heifer, bitten with the brieze' [R]

18 loof'd] † usually taken, and often printed, as *luffed*. To luff is to bring a ship's head up into the wind, and therefore whether this manoeuvre is preparatory to disengaging, or, as it well might be, to engaging more closely, depends entirely on where the wind is. And I find it hard to believe that the man who could write the storm scene of *Th* would ever use a specific technicality so loosely. North uses the phrase 'to loof off' as though it meant simply 'to disengage' i.e. as though he were connecting it with 'aloof' in the

general sense (whether or not 'aloof' is originally derived from the technical sense) [R]

20 mallard] wild drake. Rolfe compares *1H*₄, ii. ii. 111 'there's no more valour in that Poin's than in a wild-duck,' and *ibid.*, iv. ii. 21, but the allusion here is rather to the drake's aptness to follow the coy female than to his timidity.

27 Been himself] It is not very clear whether this is literally, Been what he knew himself to be—another way of saying, acted in character, displayed the courage and skill he consciously possessed—or whether *formerly* is implied in *knew*, as Delius seems to think, and the sense consequently, *either* Been the man he once knew in his own person, or Been the man he was once conscious of being. North has, 'as if he had not oftentimes proved both the one and the other fortune,' etc. (*post*, p. 267).

Can Toward Peloponnesus are they fled
Scar 'Tis easy to 't, and there I will attend
 What further comes
Can To Cæsar will I render
 My legions and my horse, six kings already
 Show me the way of yielding
Eno I'll yet follow 35
 The wounded chance of Antony, though my reason
 Sits in the wind against me [Exeunt

[SCENE XI — *Alexandria Cleopatra's palace*]

Enter ANTONY with Attendants

Ant Hark, the land bids me tread no more upon 't,
 It is asham'd to bear me Friends, come hither
 I am so lated in the world that I
 Have lost my way for ever I have a ship,
 Laden with gold, take that, divide it, fly, 5
 And make your peace with Cæsar
All Fly? not we
Ant I have fled myself, and have instructed cowards
 To run, and show their shoulders Friends, be gone,

37 *Exeunt*] not in F

32-3 'Tis easy comes] † a very odd remark from Scarus It looks as though it must mean 'It's easy enough to get there, and I'll make my way there and watch events' But that is certainly not what Scarus does, and the last thing one would expect him to do See iv vii, viii, x, and xii *post* I wonder whether all that really belongs to Scarus is a scornful aside, "'Tis easy to 't,' and the rest belongs to Canidius, to whose present frame of mind it is perfectly appropriate [R]

36 *wounded chance*] 'broken fortunes' (Malone, comparing v ii 173 *post*) *Chance* = fortune is common Cf Countess of Pembroke, *Antonie*, 1595, Act v 'Follow we our *chance*', Churchyard, *A Tragickall Discourse of the Vn-*

happy Man's Life, stanza 53 (*Chippes*, 1575) 'This *chance* is she some say that leads men out / And brings them home, when least they looke therefore,' etc

37 *Sits wind*] Shakespeare often uses *sits* of the wind itself, to denote its quarter, as in *Mer V*, i i 18 'Plucking the grass, to know where *sits* the wind' We make free with the wind like Enobarbus in the colloquialism, 'There's something in the *wind*'

Scene xi

[1-24 See North, *post*, p 266]
 3 *lated*] belated, benighted So in *Mac*, iii iii 6 'Now spurs the *lated* traveller apace'
 8 *show their shoulders*] Cf Beaumont

I have myself resolv'd upon a course,
 Which has no need of you Be gone, 10
 My treasure's in the harbour Take it O,
 I follow'd that I blush to look upon
 My very hairs do mutiny, for the white
 Reprove the brown for rashness, and they them
 For fear, and doting Friends, be gone, you shall 15
 Have letters from me to some friends, that will
 Sweep your way for you Pray you, look not sad,
 Nor make replies of loathness, take the hint
 Which my despair proclaims Let that be left
 Which leaves itself to the sea-side straightway, 20
 I will possess you of that ship and treasure
 Leave me, I pray, a little pray you now,
 Nay, do so for indeed I have lost command,
 Therefore I pray you I'll see you by and by [*Sits down*]

Enter CLEOPATRA led by CHARMIAN and EROS, IRAS following

Eros Nay, gentle madam, to him, comfort him 25
Irás Do, most dear queen
Char Do, why, what else?

19-20 that leaves itself] *Capell*, them leaues it selfe *F*

and Fletcher, *A King and no King*, III 11
 29 'I was never at battle but once, and there I was running, but *Mardonnus* cudgel'd me yet I got loose at last, but was so afraid that I saw no more than my shoulders do,' etc

13-15 *My very hairs doting*] † *Cf* iv viii 19-20 *post*, where he is in a very different mood [R]

19 *that*] Antony himself

20 *leaves itself*] is no longer itself

23 *for command*] Johnson supposed Antony to refer to his own rising emotion, which does, in fact, become uncontrollable, and is perhaps already indicated by his short-breathed speech, and this accords with his request for merely temporary solitude Steevens's interpretation, however, is probable and generally accepted 'I *entreat* you

to leave me, because I have lost all power to *command* your absence' *Cf* Beaumont and Fletcher, *A King and no King*, I 1 313 'I pray you leave me, Sirs I'm proud of this, / That you will be intreated from my sight'

24-5] † There has been a general tendency of editors not only to complete F's SD by the necessary addition of Iras, but also to change it, by having Cleopatra led in by Charmian and Iras, with Eros following This, I think, misses the point Not only is he the first to speak, so that his entry behind the other three is awkward, but he has, one imagines, been instrumental in persuading Cleopatra to come to comfort his master, and it is therefore appropriate that he should conduct her [R]

Cleo Let me sit down O Juno!

Ant No, no, no, no, no

Eros See you here, sir?

30

Ant O fie, fie, fie!

Char Madam!

Iras Madam, O good empress!

Eros Sir, sir!

Ant Yes, my lord, yes, he at Philippi kept

35

His sword e'en like a dancer, while I struck

The lean and wrinkled Cassius, and 'twas I

That the mad Brutus ended he alone

Dealt on lieutenantry, and no practice had

In the brave squares of war yet now—No matter

40

Cleo Ah, stand by

Eros The queen, my lord, the queen

Iras Go to him, madam, speak to him

29 *No no*] perhaps in rejection of Eros' attempt, as Delius says, but possibly only an audible fragment of Antony's bitter reflections

35 *Yes, my lord, yes*] To an imaginary collocutor, according to Delius, but Hudson refers it to Caesar, whom, certainly, Antony might now in bitter irony call 'my lord'

35-6 *he at Philippi dancer*] Steevens explains that Caesar is charged with wearing his sword for ornament only, undrawn, like a dancer, and compares *Tit*, II 1 38 'Why boy, although our mother unadvis'd / Gave you a dancing-rapier by your side' Malone added *All's W*, II 1 32 'and no sword worn / But one to dance with' See also the extracts from 'A Pare of Spy-knaves' in the preface to *The Four Knaves* by S Rowlands (Percy Society, no xxxiv, p xi) 'Bid him trim up my walking rapier neat, / My dancing rapier's pummell is too great,' etc On Caesar at Philippi, see North, *post*, p 244

37 *The lean Cassius*] Cf *Cæs*, I II 193, etc

37-8 *I mad Brutus ended*] not to be taken literally See North, *post*, p

244 Brutus' high, unselfish aims, and ascription of the like to others, perhaps account for the epithet *mad*

39 *Dealt on lieutenantry*] 'fought by proxy' (Steevens) Cf III 1 16-17 and North, *post*, p 253 *Dealt on* seems to be = to acted or proceeded in dependence on, unless it corresponds with our disparaging use of *to deal in*, *traffic in* Steevens and Malone quote passages containing *deal upon*, but this in all these = deal with or 'set to work upon' (OED), as in *R3*, IV II 75

39-40 *no practice squares of war*] Cf the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie* (1595), Act III 'A man in Mars' school who never lesson learned', and again 'A man who never saw enlaced pikes / With bristled joints against his stomach bent / Who fears the field and hides him cowardly / Dead at the very noise the soldiers make' For *squares* = squadrons, cf *H5*, IV II 28 'our squares of battle', Markham's *Sir Richard Grenville*, 1595 (p 65 in Arber's repr) 'In foure great battailes marcht the Spanish hoast, / The first of *Swill*, led in two great squares,' etc

He is unqualtied with very shame

Cleo Well then, sustain me O¹ 45

Eros Most noble sir, arise, the queen approaches,
Her head's declin'd, and death will seize her, but
Your comfort makes the rescue

Ant I have offended reputation,
A most unnoble swerving

Eros Sir, the queen 50

Ant O, whither hast thou led me, Egypt? See,
How I convey my shame out of thine eyes,
By looking back what I have left behind
Stroy'd in dishonour

Cleo O my lord, my lord,
Forgive my fearful sails! I little thought 55
You would have follow'd

Ant Egypt, thou knew'st too well,
My heart was to thy rudder tied by the strings,
And thou shouldst tow me after O'er my spirit
Thy full supremacy thou knew'st, and that

44 He is] *F*₂, Hee's *F* 47 seize] *F*₂, cease *F* 54 Stroy'd] *F*, Strow'd
or Strew'd *Capell* conj 58 tow] *Rowe* (towe), stowe *F* 59 Thy] *Theobald*
(*ed* 2), The *F*

44 *unqualtied*] unmanned, not himself *Qualtied* occurs twice in *The Passionate Morrice*, 1593 (New Shakespeare Soc., 1876, pp. 82, 85) 'They that were wealthy were meanely *qualtied*, and they that had many good properties were moniles', 'an exquisite proper *qualtied* Squire'

47 *seize*] *cease* for *seize*, as in *F*, is common Cf Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605), III 1 (III 11 30 in Gifford) 'mischiefe and a thousand divells *cease* him!'

but] unless So Peele, *The Battle of Alcazar*, III iv 28 'The hellish prince Ding down my soul to hell But I perform religiously,' etc

52-4 *How I convey dishonour*] See how I take my disgrace out of your sight by giving myself up to solitary brooding over the wreck of my fortunes and my honour For *stroy'd*, cf Sir I Wyatt, *Of the meane and sure*

estate, etc line 14 'And when her store was stroyed with the floodde', *A Collection of Ballads and Broadsides* (1559-97), 1867, p. 122 'Let not the wicked thus preuayle, / To vex thy church and sayntes, / But *stroy* them from the head to tayle,' etc Both the infinitives *stroyen* and *destroyen* existed in Middle English Some print the contraction '*stroy'd*' here It is used by Henry More, *Philosophicall Poems* (1647), p. 111, line 5 'For she may deem herself '*stroyed* quite,' etc

57 *the strings*] i.e. the heart strings Cf the passage in the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie* (1595), Act II, quoted by Steevens, and containing the lines 'Forgetful of his charge (as if his soul / Unto his ladies soul had been enchained),' etc Shakespeare makes the image more concrete with rudder and strings

Thy beck might from the bidding of the gods
Command me 60

Cleo O, my pardon!

Ant

Now I must

To the young man send humble treaties, dodge
And palter in the shifts of lowness, who
With half the bulk o' the world play'd as I pleas'd,
Making and marring fortunes You did know 65
How much you were my conqueror, and that
My sword, made weak by my affection, would
Obey it on all cause

Cleo Pardon, pardon!

Ant Fall not a tear, I say, one of them rates
All that is won and lost give me a kiss, 70
Even this repays me We sent our schoolmaster,
Is a' come back? Love, I am full of lead
Some wine within there, and our viands! Fortune knows,
We scorn her most, when most she offers blows [*Exeunt*]

62 *treaties*] propositions So in *John*,
II 1 480 Why answer not the double
majesties / This friendly *treaty* of our
threaten'd town?

62-3 *dodge lowness*] shuffle and
hedge in those devices to which the
man who has lost his power is reduced

65 *Making and marring*] Nothing is
commoner than the collocation of
make and *mar*, and 'To make or mar'
is a proverbial phrase Yet, in con-
junction with 'play'd' (line 64), there
seems to be an allusion here to a game
of some kind Rushton, *Shakespeare*
Illustrated by the Lex Scripta (1870), p
57, cites 'places for bowling,
tennis, dicing, white and black, *making*
and *marring*, and other unlawful games
prohibited by the laws and statutes of
this realm, 2 and 3 Philip and
Mary, cap ix'

69 *Fall*] transitively used, as in *Tp*,
II 1 304, and often Cf R Chester,
Love's Martyr, 1601 (New Shake-

peare Soc 1878, p 125) 'Fall thou a
teare, and thou shalt plainly see, /
Mine eyes shall answer teare for teare
of thine'

rates] 'estimates, expresses the value
of, is worth' (Schmidt, who observes
that the passage is peculiar) The
ordinary meaning (to assess, value) is
seen in *Cym*, I iv 88 'Post I praised
her as I *rated* her so do I my stone
Iach What do you esteem it at?' See
also on III vi 25 *ante*

71 *schoolmaster*] Euphronius, the
tutor of his children by Cleopatra See
North, *post*, p 268

73 *Some wine knows*] † The line is
unmetrical, which would be less sus-
picious if it were not the first line of a
concluding couplet F, which has made
an unmetrical jumble of the preceding
two lines, gets the couplet 'right' by
putting *some wine* at the end of the 'line'
before, and starting the couplet with
Within there [R]

[SCENE XII — *Egypt Cæsar's camp*]

*Enter CÆSAR, AGRIPPA, DOLABELLA, and THIDIAS,
with others*

Cæs Let him appear that's come from Antony
Know you him ?

Dol Cæsar, 'tis his schoolmaster,
An argument that he is pluck'd, when hither
He sends so poor a pinion of his wing,
Which had superfluous kings for messengers, 5
Not many moons gone by

Enter Ambassador from Antony

Cæs Approach, and speak

Amb Such as I am, I come from Antony
I was of late as petty to his ends,
As is the morn-dew on the myrtle-leaf
To his grand sea

Scene XII

1 from] *F*, for *F*2

[See North, *post*, pp 268-9]

§ D *Agrippa*] Many editors omit him, on the grounds that he does not speak. But Shakespeare not infrequently includes a non speaker, either (perhaps) because he at first intended him to speak and then forgot or changed his mind, or (as more probable here) because it was natural for the character to be there

5 *kings for messengers*] Cf III xiii 91 and iv ii 13 *post*

10 *To his grand sea*] Tyrwhitt conjectures *this* for *his*, supposing the sea visible from Cæsar's camp, but, as Steevens says, *his* = *its*, and the sea is the morn-dew's, as being its source, or, I imagine, as being its goal after exhalation by the sun. This latter would give—besides the usual interpretation, 'in comparison with "the sea from which the dew drop is exhaled"' (Steevens)—an alternative, substituting *to which* *passes* for *from which* *is exhaled*. I have not seen it

suggested that the simile may be elliptic, and = as petty to his purposes as the morn-dew to those of the great sea it comes from (i.e. as an insignificant part of it), or passes to (i.e. as an insignificant contributor to it). † I think that Steevens and Case were wrong about *his* meaning 'its' here (though it often does), and that the words mean 'to the great sea which is Antony's' [R]. For *grand* = great, cf III i 9 *ante*, and Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, third day, first week, line 184, 'Whither the Sea, which we *Atlantick* call, / Be but a peece of the *Grand Sea* of all', etc. In the preceding day, line 501 *et seq*, we have the contemporary idea about dew 'Two sorts of vapours by his heat exhales / From floating Deepes, and from the flowry Dales / And if this vapour fair and softly stye [ascend], / Not to the cold Stage of the middle Sky, / But 'boue the Clouds, it turneth (in a trice) / In *April*, Dew, in *January*, Ice'

Cæs Be't so, declare thine office 10

Amb Lord of his fortunes he salutes thee, and
Requires to live in Egypt, which not granted,
He lessens his requests, and to thee sues
To let him breathe between the heavens and earth,
A private man in Athens this for him 15
Next, Cleopatra does confess thy greatness,
Submits her to thy might, and of thee craves
The circle of the Ptolemies for her heirs,
Now hazarded to thy grace

Cæs For Antony,
I have no ears to his request The queen 20
Of audience nor desire shall fail, so she
From Egypt drive her all-disgraced friend,
Or take his life there This if she perform,
She shall not sue unheard So to them both

Amb Fortune pursue thee!

Cæs Bring him through the bands 25

[Exit ambassador

[To *Thidias*] To try thy eloquence, now 'tis time,
despatch,
From Antony win Cleopatra, promise,
And in our name, what she requires, add more,
From thine invention, offers women are not
In their best fortunes strong, but want will perjure 30
The ne'er-touch'd vestal try thy cunning, *Thidias*,

13 *lessens*] *F2*, *Lessons F* 26 *To Thidias*] *Rowe*, not in *F*

12 *Requires*] requests (not 'demands')

13 *lessens*] *Thyselton* defends *Lessons* of *F* on the supposition that the initial capital indicates an emphasis scarcely appropriate in the case of *lessens*, and observes 'The fact that the ambassador is on this occasion a schoolmaster should have been sufficient to have warded off the sacrilegious hand of the emendator'

18 *circle*] crown, as in *John*, v 1 2

19 *Now grace*] the retention of which now depends on your favour

28-9 *add offers*] *S Walker* conjectures and more *offer* But, after all,

in rapidly worded directions, *offers* comes in naturally enough where it stands in the text It merely reinforces, by an emphatic word, what has been already expressed †The most attractive emendation is *Hanmer's*, *As thine invention offers* [R]

31 *Thidias*] †The name so appears consistently in *F Rowe* and *Pope* were content to leave it *Theobald*, on the grounds that North has *Thyreus*, supplanted *Thidias* by *Thyreus*, and almost all editors since, except *Dover Wilson*, have followed him But North can have no authority (not even that of *Plutarch*, who has *Thyrus*) against

Make thine own edict for thy pains, which we
Will answer as a law

Thid

Cæsar, I go

Cæs Observe how Antony becomes his flaw,
And what thou think'st his very action speaks
In every power that moves

35

Thid

Cæsar, I shall

[*Exeunt*]

[SCENE XIII — *Alexandria Cleopatra's palace*]

Enter CLEOPATRA, ENOBARBUS, CHARMIAN, and IRAS

Cleo What shall we do, Enobarbus?

Eno

Think, and die

F Why or how *Thidias* was arrived at is another question. Dover Wilson suggests that Shakespeare made the alteration, because 'the Thyreus he found in North was so difficult for the actor to speak' I should have thought that, if anything, it was the other way round, and rhythmically *Thyreus* is surely preferable [R]

32-3 *Make law* Put your own valuation on your services. I will conform to what you decree as to a law. The usual sense of *answer* in connection with law is, 'meet the charge,' 'justify the fact,' as in Brome, *The Court Beggars*, iv 11 (Pearson's *Brome*, i 244) 'Doct You cannot answer it / *Gou* Better by *Law* then you can the intent / Of rape upon the Lady' 'Edicts at Rome were rules promulgated by magistrates upon entry into office, and when the practice became common of magistrates adopting the edicts of their predecessors, these edicts practically had the force of ordinary laws' (Deighton)

34 *becomes his flaw* bears himself as a broken (or disgraced, as in line 22 above) man. Cf the verb in *H8*, i 1 95 'For France hath *flaw'd* the league', and see Day's *English Secretarie*, 1599, pt 1, p 76 'Whilst there is yet but one craze or slender *flaw* in the

touchstone of thy reputation, peece it up, and new flourish again by a greater excellencie, the square of thy workmanship'

35-6 *And power that moves*] and what may be argued of his state of mind from a close observation of his behaviour. *Power that moves*, faculty of body or mind that is put in action. Steevens compares *Troil*, iv v 55-7 'There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip, / Nay her foot speaks, her wanton spirits look out / At every joint and motion of her body' See also Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621 ed (*Baby lon*, p 262) 'mine eys / By peece-meal close, all moving powers be still, / From my dull fingers drops my fainting quill', etc

Scene XIII

1 *Think, and die*] Hanmer read *Drink*, and Tyrwhitt at first proposed *Wink*, on the strength of the bidding *wink and die* in Fletcher's *Sea Voyage*, i 1 (Camb IX 3) There are other instances, e.g. *2H4*, i iii 33 'winking, leap'd into destruction', D'Avenant, *To Endymion Porter*, etc (*Works*, 1673, p 235) 'there I / (Scarce griev'd for by my self) would wink and die', Sir R Howard, *Poems*, 1696, p 16 'But like

Cleo Is Antony, or we, in fault for this?

Eno Antony only, that would make his will
 Lord of his reason What though you fled,
 From that great face of war, whose several ranges 5
 Frighted each other? why should he follow?
 The itch of his affection should not then
 Have nick'd his captainship, at such a point,

a Covvard wink't and fought', but the question is rather whether to infer from *Think, and die* that death is to be the result of thinking and no other agency (as apparently was later the case with Enobarbus, iv vi 35-6 *post*, which see), or to be self-inflicted after a melancholy view of a hopeless situation. The former sense, i e 'Become a prey to melancholy and die of it,' is favoured by iv vi 35-6 (see note), but even the passage from *Cas* (ii 1 186), quoted by Steevens, does not certainly decide the question in its favour. 'If he love Cæsar, all that he can do / Is to himself, take thought and die for Cæsar'

5 *face of war*] So in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Queen of Corinth*, iv iii (Camb VI 56) 'Fear nothing that this *face of arms* presents'

ranges] the lines of the opposing fleets. For this noun, not elsewhere in Shakespeare, cf Hall's *Chronicle*, 1548, Henry VIII, v yere, f xxxiii 'The frenchmen came on in iii *ranges*, xxxvi mens thickness', *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV*, etc (Camden Society, 1898, p 20) 'assayled them, in the mydst and strongest of theyr battaile, and, than, turned to the *range*, first on that one hand, and than on that other hand, in lengthe, and so bet and bare them downe, so that,' etc Fairfax's Tasso, *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (1600), vi 107 'And breaking through the ranks and *ranges* long'

8 *nick'd*] There are sundry possible sources of this expression, and (1) I seem to be alone in suggesting that of gaming, whence—from a *nick* being a winning throw in the game of hazard

—to *nick* came to mean to cheat, or merely to *get the better of*. So in many passages, e g —with a play on words—in *Barnavelt*, v ii (Bullen's *Old Plays*, ii 303), where the headsman is said to have '*Nickt* many a worthe gamester', *Two Wise Men*, etc (1619), vi iv (said by an inn chamberlain of a guest who will order nothing) 'but we'll *nick* him well enough in his horse-meat and scurvy sheets', and Borrow, *The Romany Rye* (1857), ii xiv, p 213 'his reverence chated me, and I chated his reverence, the ould thaif knew every trick that I knew, and one or two more, but in daling out the cards I *nicked* his reverence, scarcely a trump did I ever give him, Shorsha, and won his money purty freely' The *Eng Dial Dict* has many examples of the senses 'cheat' and 'steal' (2) From the simple sense of *nick'd*, i e notched, is obtained maimed. So Staunton (emasculated), Deighton (marred, disfigured), Herford (properly cut in notches, here 'curtailed') (3) Steevens, comparing *Err*, v 1 175 'His man with scissors *nicks* him like a fool,' gives 'set the mark of folly on,' which has satisfied most editors

† I have almost no doubt that Case's own interpretation is the right one. *OED* (which had not reached the word when Case wrote his note) gives 'cut short', with reference to this passage, as does Onions. But it cites no earlier instance, and none later till 1787—i e it derives its meaning from the very passage which is in dispute. On the other hand, for Case's interpretation, besides quoting *Barnavelt*, it goes back to 1553 [R]

When half to half the world oppos'd, he being
 The mered question 'Twas a shame no less 10
 Than was his loss, to course your flying flags,
 And leave his navy gazing

Cleo Prithce, peace

Enter the Ambassador, with ANTONY

Ant Is that his answer?

Amb Ay, my lord

Ant The queen shall then have courtesy, so she 15
 Will yield us up

Amb He says so

Ant Let her know 't

To the boy Cæsar send this grizzled head,
 And he will fill thy wishes to the brim,
 With principalities

Cleo That head, my lord?

Ant To him again, tell him he wears the rose 20
 Of youth upon him, from which, the world should note
 Something particular his coin, ships, legions,
 May be a coward's, whose ministers would prevail
 Under the service of a child, as soon
 As I' the command of Cæsar I dare him therefore 25
 To lay his gay comparisons apart

10 mered] meered *F*, see note 26 comparisons] *F*, caparisons *Pope*

10 *mered question*] whole or sole ground of quarrel, if Mason is correct in supposing a coinage from *mere* Cf Middleton, *The Widow*, v 1 142 'Signor Francisco, whose *mere* object now / Is woman at these years,' etc and for *question*, *Ham*, i 1 111 Johnson cites *mere* a boundary, and some make *mered question* = 'the matter to which the dispute is limited,' comparing Spenser, *Ruins of Rome*, xxii 'When that brave honour of the Latin name, / Which *meared* her rule with Africa and Byze,' etc The boundaries (strips of grass or banks) in the common fields of Shakespeare's day were called *meers*, whence a verb to mark off land, which may appear in extended usage here Johnson also conjectured *mooted*,

moved (often *meued* or *meevud* thirty years or so before this play) is nearer in form and just as probable 'But which part should begin sute that peace to *moue*,' etc (John Heywood, *The Spider and the Flea*, 1556, Spenser Society ed., p 370)

20-1 *rose Of youth*] Cf *All's W*, i iii 137 'this thorn / Doth to our rose of youth rightly belong', and *Ham*, iii 1 155

26 *gay comparisons*] the showy supports in which he excels me Most editors similarly understand *comparisons* (with Johnson) as = comparative superiority in fortune, and Malone quotes *Mac*, i ii 55 'Till that Bel-lona's bridegroom, lapp'd in proof, / Confronted him with *self-comparisons*,

And answer me declin'd, sword against sword,
Ourselves alone I'll write it follow me

[*Exeunt Antony and Ambassador*]

Eno [*Aside*] Yes, like enough! High-battled Cæsar will
Unstate his happiness, and be stag'd to the show 30
Against a sword! I see men's judgments are
A parcel of their fortunes, and things outward
Do draw the inward quality after them,
To suffer all alike, that he should dream,
Knowing all measures, the full Cæsar will 35
Answer his emptiness, Cæsar, thou hast subdued
His judgment too

Enter a Servant

Ser

A messenger from Cæsar

28 S D *Exeunt*] *Capell, not in F* 29 *Aside*] *Capell*

etc but a few adopt Pope's reading *caparisons*. There is a play on the two words in *Ser Gyles Goosecappe*, iv 11 (*Old Plays*, Bullen, iii 64) 'Foul A my life a most rich *comparison* Goos Never stirre if it be not a richer *Comparison* then my Lorde my Cosin wore at Tilt,' etc Perhaps it may support the text to note that *comparisons* are inferred between youth and age, fortune with its gifts and naked misfortune, and that while the gay, glittering ones, the gifts, can be set aside, the advantage in years and flush of success must remain

27 *declin'd*] i.e. in fortune, and probably also 'into the vale of years' (*Oth*, iii iii 266 q v) In the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie*, iii, A. says he preferred combat 'Though he in prime and I by feeble age / Mightily weakened both in force and skill' The 20th stanza of A. Copley's *A Fug for Fortune* (1596) begins 'There is no hell like to declined glorie'

29 *High-battled*] master of noble armies See on iii ix 2 *ante*, and compare *Tit*, iv iv 35 'High-witted Tamora'

30 *Unstate his happiness*] i.e. strip it of state and dignity See *Lr*, i ii 110 'I would unstate myself to be in a due

resolution' = 'give up my position as a duke, forfeit my rank and fortune' (Craig) The context in both passages supports this view of *unstate*, which otherwise might merely equal unsettle, disestablish, as *stated* occurs in the sense, constituted, firmly fixed So in Felltham's *Resolves* (ed 1631), xxiv 'a soul that is rightly *stated*', xxvi 'Nature is motive in the quest of ill, / *Stated* in mischief,' etc

30-1 *stag'd* *sworder*] Henley notes the allusion to the public combats of gladiators And, as Kittredge points out, prize fights with swords were common shows in London With *stag'd*, cf *Meas*, i i 67 'I love the people / But do not like to *stage* me to their eyes', for *sworder*, 2*H6*, iv i 135 'A Roman *sworder* and banditto slave'

32 *A parcel of*] 'of a piece with' (Steevens), literally, a part of

32-4 *and things outward alike*] Cf *Sonn* cx1 'And almost thence my nature is subdued / To what it works in, like the dyer's hand'

34 *that*] †seeing that the general truth (*things outward*) is exemplified by the particular instance [R]

35 *Knowing all measures*] being so good a judge of men's 'capacities'

Cleo What, no more ceremony? See, my women,
 Against the blown rose may they stop their nose,
 That kneel'd unto the buds Admit him, sir 40
 [Exit Servant]

Eno [Aside] Mine honesty, and I, begin to square
 The loyalty well held to fools does make
 Our faith mere folly yet he that can endure
 To follow with allegiance a fall'n lord,
 Does conquer him that did his master conquer, 45
 And earns a place i' the story

Enter THIDIAS

Cleo Cæsar's will
Thid Hear it apart
Cleo None but friends say boldly
Thid So haply are they friends to Antony
Eno He needs as many, sir, as Cæsar has,
 Or needs not us If Cæsar please, our master 50
 Will leap to be his friend for us, you know,
 Whose he is, we are, and that is, Cæsar's
Thid So
 Thus then, thou most renown'd, Cæsar entreats,
 Not to consider in what case thou stand'st
 Further than he is Cæsar
Cleo Go on right royal 55
Thid He knows that you embrac'd not Antony
 As you did love, but as you fear'd him

40 S D Exit] Capell, not in F 41 Aside] Capell 51 us, you] us you F,
 as you F2 55 Cæsar] F2, Cæsars F 56 embrac'd] Hudson (Capell cony),
 embrace F

41 square] quarrel See on 11 1 45
 ante, and cf our phrase 'he squared up
 to his opponent'

50 Or needs not us] Heath 'or else he
 needs not even us, whose small number
 and want of power render us incap-
 able, without other assistance, of being
 of any service to him', Deighton 'or
 has no need for any friends, i e his case
 is beyond hope' Is Enobarbus' speech,
 however, dictated by his meditated
 delusion, and do these words signify

or does not need us, for we are among
 them (viz Cæsar's friends)? What
 follows contradicts this if 'Whose he is'
 = whose friend he is, but not neces-
 sarily if it = whose creature (i e at
 whose discretion) he is, in which
 sense both commentators understood
 it

55 Further Cæsar] beyond the fact
 that it is Cæsar, and no harsh con-
 queror, with whom you have to do
 57 as you fear'd him] † Cleopatra, in

Cleo

O'

Thid The scars upon your honour, therefore, he
Does pity, as constrained blemishes,
Not as deserv'd

Cleo

He is a god, and knows

60

What is most right Mine honour was not yielded,
But conquer'd merely

Eno

[*Aside*] To be sure of that,
I will ask Antony Sir, sir, thou art so leaky
That we must leave thee to thy sinking for
Thy dearest quit thee

[*Exit*

Thid

Shall I say to Cæsar

65

What you require of him? for he partly begs
To be desir'd to give It much would please him,
That of his fortunes you should make a staff
To lean upon But it would warm his spirits
To hear from me you had left Antony,
And put yourself under his shroud,
The universal landlord

70

Cleo

What's your name?

Thid My name is Thidias

Cleo

Most kind messenger,

Say to great Cæsar this in deputation

62 *Aside*] *Hanner* 74 this in deputation] this in disputation, *F*, this, in deputation *Theobald* (*Warburton*), and *edd*

North, during the scene in which she deludes Cæsar, says the same of herself (see p 275) 'This may help to clarify the way in which Cleopatra's O' should be delivered [R]

61 *right*] true

62 *merely*] utterly

66 *require*] request (no hint of demand)

71 *shroud*] shelter See Kyd, *Works* (ed Boas), *The Housholders Philosophie*, p 248, line 9 'vnder the shade of a Tree, or *shroude* of a Church', *ibid* p 240 "'The wrath of Fortune and of mightie me[n] I shun, howbeit I am eftsometimes *shrouded* vnder the estate of Sauoy "' 'Vnder a magnanimous, just, and gracious Prince you sojourne then" (quoth he)'

74 *in deputation*] in deputed authority, as my representative I have been guided by the folio punctuation, seeing no necessity for the accepted arrangement due to Warburton, which places the colon after *this*, and makes the sense 'I kiss his conquering hand by proxy' Other passages hardly favour it Cf *1H4*, iv iii 86 'Of all the favourites that the absent king / *In deputation* left behind him here,' etc, *ibid* iv i 32 'And that his friends by *deputation* could not / So soon be drawn' See also *Troil*, i iii 152 Steevens (pointing as Warburton) believed that *F*'s *disputation* might be retained, suggesting the sense 'I own he has the better in the controversy' The probabilities seem to me, how-

I kiss his conquering hand tell him, I am prompt 75
 To lay my crown at's feet, and there to kneel
 Tell him, from his all-obeying breath I hear
 The doom of Egypt

Thid 'Tis your noblest course
 Wisdom and fortune combating together,
 If that the former dare but what it can, 80
 No chance may shake it Give me grace to lay
 My duty on your hand

Cleo Your Cæsar's father oft,
 When he hath mus'd of taking kingdoms in,
 Bestow'd his lips on that unworthy place,
 As it rain'd kisses

Enter ANTONY and ENOBARBUS

Ant Favours? By Jove that thunders! 85
 What art thou, fellow?

Thid One that but performs
 The bidding of the fullest man, and worthiest
 To have command obey'd

Eno [*Aside*] You will be whipp'd

Ant Approach there! Ah, you kite! Now, gods and devils,
 Authority melts from me of late, when I cried 'Ho!' 90

88, 94 *Aside*] *Capell* 90 me of late, when] *Johnson* (me Of), me of late
 When *F*

ever, in favour of *das* being a result of
 the attractive proximity of *this* and
kiss

77 *all-obeying*] 'which all obey'
 With *obeying* = obeyed, cf *Lucr*, 993,
 'unrecalling crime', i.e. crime past
 recall

78 *doom of*] judgment on
Egypt] myself

80 *former* shake it] If a man is
 wise enough to limit his daring to the
 possible, he is secure

83 *taking in*] Cf i 1 23, iii vii 23
ante

87 *fullest*] Here, I think, not only,
 most completely endowed with man's
 best qualities, but also with the gifts of
 fortune See line 35 *ante* *Full* is par-
 ticularly applied in *Oth*, ii 1 36 'Like

a full [i.e. complete] soldier' With the
 rest of the speech, compare Decretas
 on Antony, v 1 6-7 *post*

89 *Ah, you kite*] probably addressed
 to Cleopatra Mr Craig quotes this
 line on *Lr*, i iv 286, 'Detested kite,'
 and says of *kite* 'a term of strong
 opprobrium, when by Shakespeare
 applied to women' Turberville in
 his *Book of Faulconrie*, 1575, describes
 kites as "base, bastardly, refuse,
 hawks" On the other hand, Thidias
 might be so addressed Cf *Ralph*
Roister Doister, v 9 'Roister Doister
 that doughtie kite', and Sylvester's *Du*
Bartas, ed 1621, p 217 (*The Furies*)
 'whose Siren-notes / Inchant chaste
Susans, and like hungry *Kite* / Flie at all
 game, they *Louers* are behight'

Like boys unto a muss, kings would start forth,
 And cry 'Your will?' Have you no ears?
 I am Antony yet

Enter Servants.

Take hence this Jack, and whip him

Eno [*Aside*] 'Tis better playing with a lion's whelp,
 Than with an old one dying

Ant Moon and stars, 95

Whip him Were't twenty of the greatest tributaries
 That do acknowledge Cæsar, should I find them
 So saucy with the hand of she here,—what's her name,
 Since she was Cleopatra? Whip him, fellows,
 Till like a boy you see him cringe his face, 100
 And whine aloud for mercy Take him hence

Thid Mark Antony!

Ant Tug him away being whipp'd

93 S D *Enter Servants*] Dyce, *Enter a servant F, after him* 94 *Aside*]
Capell

91 *a muss*] a scramble So Jonson, *Bart Fair*, iv 11 33 'Coles Gods so! a muss, a muss, a muss, a muss' [Falls a-scrambling for the pears] Cotgrave, defining another word, has 'The boyish scrambling for nuts, etc., cast on the ground, a Musse', and Omions points out that *muss* = scramble survives in Leicestershire and Warwickshire Grey pointed out the inclusion by Rabelais (i xxii) of *muss* among the games of Gargantua, and a mention again, in iii xl, where are these details 'I found them all [i.e. the high treasurers of France] recreating and diverting themselves at the play called *musse*, provided that *hic not* that the game of the musse is honest, healthful, ancient, and lawful, a *Muscho inventore*,

& *Muscarni*, such as play and sport it at the musse, are excusable in and by law And at the very same time was master Tielman Picquet one of the players of that game of musse There is nothing that I do better remember, for he laughed heartily when his fellow-members of the aforesaid judicial

chamber spoiled their caps in swindling of his shoulders', etc (*Works*, Chatto & Windus, n d, p 354) With the succeeding reference to kings, cf iii xi 5 *ante* and iv 11 13 *post*

93 *Jack*] fellow, impudent rascal The frequency of the name led to its use for clown, peasant, etc (as now for sailor), and so in more or less contemptuous senses Cf our *Jacks-in-office*, and with it the corresponding phrase in 'And I may set up for an *Author*, I hope, among the *Crowd* where *Lucensers*, *Correctors*, and *Criticks*, are made but *Jacks in an Office*' (*The Parliament of Criticks*, 1702, p 2)

whip him] See North, *post*, p 269

100 *cringe his face*] OED quotes for this transitive use of *cringe*, in addition to the present passage, Bishop Hall, *Satires*, 1598, iv 11 [ed Singer, 1824, p 85] 'And shake his head, and *cringe* his neck and side', Taylor, the Water Poet, *Red Herrung*, circa 1630 'They, *cringing* in their necks, like rats, smothered in the hold, poorly replied'

Bring him again this Jack of Cæsar's shall
 Bear us an errand to him [*Exeunt servants with Thidias*]
 You were half blasted ere I knew you ha? 105
 Have I my pillow left unpress'd in Rome,
 Forborne the getting of a lawful race,
 And by a gem of women, to be abus'd
 By one that looks on feeders?

Cleo Good my lord,—

Ant You have been a boggler ever, 110
 But when we in our viciousness grow hard—
 O misery on't!—the wise gods seel our eyes,
 In our own filth drop our clear judgments, make us
 Adore our errors, laugh at's while we strut
 To our confusion

103 this] *Pope*, the *F* 112-13 eyes, In our own filth drop] eyes In our own
 filth drop *Warburton*, eyes in our owne filth, drop *F*

107 *Forborne race*] not the fact
 See *North*, *post*, p 254

108 *gem*] *Headley* (*Select Beauties*,
 etc ed 1810, i 161) quotes this pas-
 sage to illustrate, 'My chosen pheare,
 my *gem*, and all my joy,' from G
Gascoigne's Poems, p 141, 1587, 4to
 He considers *gem* 'An expression of
 endearment of great beauty'

109 *feeders*] servants Similarly they
 are called *cormorants*, 'I forgot to
 bring one of my *cormorants* to attend
 me' (*Jonson*, *EMO*, v 1 8), *beef-*
eaters 'Begone yee greedy *beef-eaters*'
 (*Histrionastus*, iii 1 99), '*eaters of broken*
meats' (*Lr*, ii 11 15), *eaters* 'tall *eaters* in
 blue coats' (*D'Avenant*, *The Wits*, iii
 1, *Works*, 1872, ii 167), *mouths* 'Where
 are all my *eaters*? my *mouths* now?'
 [*Enter Servants*] (*Jonson*, *The Silent*
Woman, iii v 33) To the last two,
 quoted by *Steevens*, *Gifford* adds from
Fletcher, *The Nice Valour*, iii 1 (*Camb*
X, p 164) 'Now servants he has kept,
 lusty tall *feeders*', and in *ATL*, ii iv
 100 'I will your very faithful *feeder*
 be,' the word is mostly taken as =
 servant It is noteworthy that in none
 of these passages are eating propen-
 sities *apropos*, so that the terms are
 general, and though it is otherwise in

Tim, ii 11 168 'When all our offices
 have been oppress'd / With riotous
feeders,' the sense of the word is deter-
 mined here too, as *Steevens* pointed
 out, by its conjunction with *offices* or
 servants' quarters The weight of evi-
 dence is wholly against *Delius*' and
Schmidt's explanation, *parasites* Cf
 also lines 123-4, 157 *post*

110 *boggler*] waverer, shift one See
All's W, v iii 234 'You *boggle*
 shrewdly,' etc

112 *seel*] The term in falconry for
 sewing up a hawk's eyelids temporarily
 to prepare it for the use of the hood
 Often used figuratively as here Cf
Jonson, *Catiline*, i 297 'Are your eyes
 yet *unseel'd*? dare they look day / In the
 dull face?' The practice had other
 uses Among amusements provided by
Zelmane (*Sidney's Arcadia*, bk 1, ed
 1725, p 99) this figures 'Now she
 brought them to see a *seeled* dove, who,
 the blinder she was, the higher she
 strove'

113 In *judgements*] Probabi-
 lity and *Steevens's* illustration from
H5, iii v 59 'He'll drop his heart
 into the sink of fear,' negative the
 pointing of *F*, to which *Knight* ad-
 heres

Cleo O, is't come to this? 115

Ant I found you as a morsel, cold upon
Dead Cæsar's trencher nay, you were a fragment
Of Gnaeus Pompey's, besides what hotter hours,
Unregister'd in vulgar fame, you have
Luxuriously pick'd out For I am sure, 120
Though you can guess what temperance should be,
You know not what it is

Cleo Wherefore is this? 125

Ant To let a fellow that will take rewards,
And say, 'God quit you!', be familiar with
My playfellow, your hand, this kingly seal,
And pligher of high hearts! O that I were
Upon the hill of Basan, to outroar
The horned herd, for I have savage cause,
And to proclaim it civilly, were like
A halter'd neck, which does the hangman thank 130
For being yare about him

Enter a Servant with THIDIAS.

Is he whipp'd?

Ser Soundly, my lord

Ant Cried he? and begg'd 'a pardon?

Ser He did ask favour

132 'a] a *F*, he *Capell* and most *edd*

116-17 *morsel* trencher] Cf the metaphor for Cleopatra, 'his Egyptian dish,' II VI 123 *ante*, and Cleopatra's own description of herself as 'a morsel for a monarch,' I V 31 *ante*

117 *fragment*] left scrap or morsel Cf the plural in *Cym*, V III 44

118 *Gnaeus Pompey's*] Cf IV XII 13 *post*, and see North, *post*, p 246

120 *Luxuriously*] lustfully So the adjective = lustful as in *Tit*, V I 88 'O most insatiate and *luxurious* woman!' and the noun, 'lust', as in *Ham*, I V 83, in Shakespeare and his contemporaries

124 *quit*] reward Cf Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, II IV 964 'You

whose flocks / By my protection quit your industry'

125 *seal*] So in *MND*, III II 143-4 'thy hand this seal of bliss!'

127-8 *Basan* herd] Steevens quotes the Prayer-book versions of Psalms LXXIII 15 and XXXI 12 'As the hill of *Basan*, so is God's hill even an high hill, as the hill of *Basan*', 'Many oxen are come about me fat bulls of *Basan* close me in on every side' With the inevitable allusion to *horned*, cf I II 4 *ante* Antony means that he is the champion cuckold of the world

131 *yare*] adroit, quick Cf II II 211, III VII 38 *ante*, V II 282 *post*

132 'a] For a = he in *F*, cf II VII 90, 133 *ante*

Ant If that thy father live, let him repent
 Thou wast not made his daughter, and be thou sorry 135
 To follow Cæsar in his triumph, since
 Thou hast been whipp'd for following him henceforth
 The white hand of a lady fever thee,
 Shake thou to look on 't Get thee back to Cæsar,
 Tell him thy entertainment look thou say 140
 He makes me angry with him For he seems
 Proud and disdainful, harping on what I am
 Not what he knew I was He makes me angry,
 And at this time most easy 'tis to do 't
 When my good stars, that were my former guides, 145
 Have empty left their orbs, and shot their fires
 Into the abysm of hell If he mislike
 My speech, and what is done, tell him he has
 Hipparchus, my enfranchised bondman, whom
 He may at pleasure whip, or hang, or torture, 150
 As he shall like to quit me Urge it thou
 Hence with thy stripes, begone! *Exit Thidias*

Cleo Have you done yet?

Ant Alack, our terrene moon
 Is now eclips'd, and it portends alone
 The fall of Antony!

Cleo I must stay his time 155

Ant To flatter Cæsar, would you mingle eyes

137 whipp'd for] *Theobald*, whipp'd, for *Rowe*, whipt For *F*

141-7 *He angry*, etc.] See North, *post*, p 269

142-3 *what I am was*] Cf *Arden of Feversham*, 1 322, for the reverse idea 'Measure me *what I am*, not *what I was*'

144 *do't*] ↑ so *F*, most edd print a comma *F* is right, I think, marking the pause before he amplifies *this time* [R.]

146 *orbs*] spheres See on II vii 14-16 *ante*, IV xv 10 *post*, and *MND*, II 1 153

149 *Hipparchus*] See North, *post*, pp 266, 269 Antony is not abandoning an innocent man thus, but a revolter *enfranchised*] Only here in Shakespeare *OED* also cites Marbeck, *Book*

of Notes (1581), p 193 'By him we be *enfranchised* from the captivitie and thraldome of the Drivell'

151 *quit me*] pay me out, requite me Cf line 124 *ante*

153-4 *moon eclips'd portends*] He has already, in his anger, referred to Cleopatra as no longer herself (line 99 *ante*), now similarly, but in softer mood, he figures her as a moon darkened, lustreless, and hence, according to the common superstition, portending evil See *Lr*, I II 115 Capell supposes him to think of Cleopatra as Isis See on I II 61 and cf III vi 17 *ante*

155 *stay his time*] be patient till he comes to himself

With one that ties his points?

Cleo Not know me yet?

Ant Cold-hearted toward me?

Cleo Ah, dear, if I be so,

From my cold heart let heaven engender hail,
And poison it in the source, and the first stone 160

Drop in my neck as it determines, so
Dissolve my life, the next Cæsarion smite
Till by degrees the memory of my womb,
Together with my brave Egyptians all,
By the discandying of this pelleted storm, 165
Lie graveless, till the flies and gnats of Nile
Have buried them for prey!

Ant I am satisfied

Cæsar sits down in Alexandria, where
I will oppose his fate. Our force by land
Hath nobly held, our sever'd navy too 170
Have knit again, and fleet, threatening most sea-like

158 me?] *F*, me! *Theobald* 162 Cæsarion smite] *Rowe* (Cæsario), Cæsarian
smile *F* 165 discandying] *Theobald* (*Thurlby cony*), discandering *F*
168 sits] *Johnson*, sets *F*

157 one that points] a contemptuous phrase for a menial, like *feeder*, line 109 *ante* Points were the tagged laces with which the parts of a man's or woman's dress were fastened together See *1H4*, II iv 242, *Kemps mine dares wonder*, 1600 (Camden Society, 1840, p. 17) 'it was the mischance of a homely made, that, belike, was but newly crept into the fashion of long wasted petticoates tyde with points,' etc *hus*] Cæsar's

158 Cold-hearted toward me?] † I am inclined to think that *Theobald* and other editors who follow his reading were right, and that *Antony*, not yet relenting, is bitterly answering *Cleopatra's* question 'Yes, only too well I know your cold heart' [*R*]

161 determines] comes to an end, dissolves See *Cor*, III iii 42 'Must all determine here?'

162 Cæsarion] Cf III vi 6 *ante*

165 discandying] melting This and *discandy*, IV xii 22 *post*, seem to be the

only known instances, but the opposite idea is common Cf *Sylvester's Du Bartas, The Lawe*, 1621 ed., p. 362 'As thick, or thicker then the Welkin pours / His candi'd drops vpon the ears of Corn,' etc The conceit seems to be that the poison in the hail (line 160) is liberated by the melting The wish which follows resembles that in V ii 57-60 *post*

pelleted] occurs also in *Compl*, 18 'the brine / That season'd woe had pelleted in tears'

166-7 *hus prey*] Deighton well compares *Mac*, III iv 72-3 'our monuments shall be the maws of kites'

169 *hus fate*] Cf *H5*, II iv 64 'and let us fear / The native mightiness and fate of him'

171 fleet] float Very common, so T. Hudson, *Du Bartas's Judith*, 1584 (p. 793 in *Sylvester*, 1621 ed.) 'When Seas are calme, and thousand vessels fleet / Vpon the sleeping seas with passage sweet', etc *Selimus*, 1594, ed

Where hast thou been, my heart? Dost thou hear, lady?
 If from the field I shall return once more
 To kiss these lips, I will appear in blood,
 I, and my sword, will earn our chronicle
 There's hope in't yet

175

Cleo That's my brave lord!

Ant I will be treble-sinew'd, hearted, breath'd,
 And fight maliciously for when mine hours
 Were nice and lucky, men did ransom lives
 Of me for jests but now, I'll set my teeth,
 And send to darkness all that stop me Come,
 Let's have one other gaudy night call to me

180

175 *our*] *F*, my *F*2

Grosart, 467 'a quiet road for *fleeting* ships'

172 *heart*] With Delius, I understand this as courage, spirit, and not as addressed to Cleopatra

174 *in blood*] Besides the obvious sense, Deighton detects 'an allusion to the phrase as used of a stag when in full vigour,' and compares *1H6*, iv 11 48, and *Cor*, iv v 225 'But when they shall see, sir, his crest up again, and the man *in blood*, they will,' etc See also *Sejanus*, ii 385 'The way to put / A prince *in blood*, is to present the shapes / Of dangers greater than they are,' etc

175 *our chronicle*] a record of our deeds Cf line 46 *ante*, and Beaumont and Fletcher, *Phalaster*, v iii 130 'Well, my dear Countrymen, What-you-lacks, if you continue, and fall not back upon the first broken shin, I'll have you *chronicled* and *chronicled*, and cut and *chronicled*, and all-to-be-prais'd and sung in Sonnets,' etc

178 *breath'd*] Some print *breathed* and explain 'exercised', a frequent sense, but here a treble strength of breath goes with the like of heart and sinews

180 *nice*] The favoured sense of *nice* here is Warburton's 'delicate', or the like (cf Minshew, 1617, 'Nice, or *dainty* or *effeminate*'), and Schmidt well supports with *2H4*, i 1 145

'Hence, thereafter, thou *nice* crutch' / A scaly gauntlet now with joints of steel / Must glove this hand', etc A slight objection to this and most senses suggested is that as Antony is speaking of his former *fighting* temper, his hours, however lucky, could only have been dainty, etc, in a very relative sense Johnson preferred the modern 'just fit for my purpose, agreeable to my wish', and it is perhaps worth remarking that 'nice and lucky' as a colloquialism nowadays would mean extremely, or satisfactorily, lucky Other suggestions are, 'trifling' (Steevens), as in *Rom*, v 11 18, etc—and 'jest's' would certainly suit hours that were trivial compared with the present crisis—'amorous, or wanton', Douce, who quotes Stowe, of one Mary Breame in 1583, who 'had been *accused* by her husband to be a *nice woman of her body*' As *nice* comes from *nescius*, ignorant, this is a probable degradation of the word † I fancy that *nice* has here the sense of 'finicky', 'choosy', and that Antony means 'When I was lucky, I could afford to pick and choose at my caprice' [R.]

183 *gaudy*] festive Feast days are still called 'gaudy days' at Oxford Reed quotes Blount's *Glossographia* [see for the following, ed 4, 1674] 'In the Inns of Court there are four of these in

All my sad captains, fill our bowls once more,
Let's mock the midnight bell

Cleo It is my birth-day, 185

I had thought t' have held it poor But since my lord
Is Antony again, I will be Cleopatra

Ant We will yet do well

Cleo Call all his noble captains to my lord

Ant Do so, we'll speak to them, and to-night I'll force 190

The wine peep through their scars Come on, my queen,
There's sap in 't yet The next time I do fight

I'll make death love me, for I will contend

Even with his pestilent scythe [*Exeunt all but Enobarbus*]

Eno Now he'll outstare the lightning, to be furious 195

Is to be frighted out of fear, and in that mood

The dove will peck the estridge, and I see still,

194 *Exeunt Enobarbus*] *Camb edd*, *Exeunt F*

the year, that is, one in every Term, viz *Ascension-day* in *Easter Term*, *Midsummer-day* in *Trinity Term*, *All-Saints-day* in *Michaelmas Term*, and *Candlemas-day* in *Hilary Term*, these four are no days in Court, and on these days double Commons are allowed, and Musick on *All-Saints* and *Candlemas-day*, as the first and last of *Christmas*. The Etymology of the word may be taken from Judge *Gawdy*, who (as some affirm) was the first institutor of those days, or rather from *gaudium*, because (to say truth) they are days of joy, as bringing good cheer to the hungry Students. In Colledges, they are most commonly called *Gaudy*, in Inns of Court, *Grand days*, and at Court, *Coller days*. See Bullen's *Middleton*, viii 43-4, *The Black Book*, where 'Pierce Pennyless, exceeding poor scholar, that hath made clean shoes in both universities' is spoken of as not 'once munching commons but only upon *gaudy-days*', and, for the general use, Edward Phillips's *Life of John Milton*, 1694 (Appendix to Godwin's *Lives of Edward and John Philips*, 1815, p 365) 'with these gentlemen, he would so far make bold with his body,

as now and then to keep a *gawdy-day*' 185 *birth-day*] See North, *post*, p 270

193-4 *contend scythe*] equal the slaughter of even his scythe of pestilence (i e the plague)

197 *estridge*] goshawk See on the word here and in *rH4*, iv 1 98, Douce (*Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1807, 1 436), who appeals to *3H6*, i iv 41 'So doves do peck the falcon's piercing talons,' and quotes the Romance of Guy of Warwick, of which the *Early English Text Soc* editions, 1883, have (pt 1, p 12, lines 175-6) from Auchinleck MS 'Michel he coupe of hawk and hounde, / Of *estriche* faucons of gret mounde' Nares (*Glossary*, 1822) under *Astringer*, cites Blount's *Tenures*, ed 1784, p 166 'A goshawk is in our records termed by the several names of *osturcum*, *hostricum*, *estricum*, *asturcum*, and *austurcum*' (in which list *estricum* is the significant form, while *hostricum* suggests a possible reason for the 'ostrich' confusion), and Halliwell (*Dict Archaic and Provincial Words*) explains the word in the text as Douce Editors have entirely ignored all this, and are kept in countenance by *OED*,

A diminution in our captain's brain
 Restores his heart, when valour preys on reason,
 It eats the sword it fights with I will seek 200
 Some way to leave him [Exit

199 preys on] Rowe, prays in F 201 Exit] Rowe, Exeunt F

in which the sense 'goshawk' is unnoticed, and our text illustrates that of *ostrich*, for which *estridge* commonly appears. In Professor Littledale's re-issue of Dyce's *Glossary to Shakespeare*, the correction is made in the Appendix, but ascribed to Madden (*Diary of Master William Silence*, pp 144-5, etc.)

† I do not understand why editors are for the most part so reluctant to admit that *estridge* can mean goshawk, as well as ostrich.

Dover Wilson does his best to support the meaning 'ostrich' here by saying that it is appropriate to Egypt. That, to begin with, is not so, unless the limits of the ostrich's geographical distribution were in Shakespeare's day further north than they are now. But in any case would Shakespeare have given a moment's thought to the geographical appropriateness of the ostrich—or for that matter of the gos-

hawk? He was concerned with an image, and an image which he uses elsewhere. In *Mac* (iv ii 9-11) the wren, in defence of her young, will fight against the owl, and (ii iv 12-13) a mousing owl hawks at and kills a falcon. And the passage quoted above from 3H6 is seen to be even more closely relevant to the present passage when quoted complete, since it deals with the mood in which the dove will turn upon the bird of prey: 'So cowards fight when they can fly no further / So doves do peck the falcon's piercing talons.' Suppose for a moment that *estridge* had been a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, occurring in this passage only. Would any commentator with the other Shakespearean passages before him have doubted that it meant some kind of bird of prey, or, with the 'estriche' and 'estricium' passages before him, that it probably meant specifically a goshawk? [R]

ACT IV

[SCENE I — *Before Alexandria Cæsar's camp*]

*Enter CÆSAR, AGRIPPA, and MÆCENAS, with his Army,
CÆSAR reading a letter*

- Cæs* He calls me boy, and chides as he had power
To beat me out of Egypt My messenger
He hath whipp'd with rods, dares me to personal
combat,
Cæsar to Antony let the old ruffian know,
I have many other ways to die, meantime 5
Laugh at his challenge
- Mæc* Cæsar must think,
When one so great begins to rage, he's hunted
Even to falling Give him no breath, but now
Make boot of his distraction never anger
Made good guard for itself
- Cæs* Let our best heads 10
Know, that to-morrow the last of many battles
We mean to fight Within our files there are,

ACT IV

Scene 1

3 combat] *F*, combat, *most edd*

3-4] † I think *F*'s punctuation very probably right *Cæsar* to *Antony* is then the opening of his reply (as though he was dictating a letter) But for *to* (awkward in modern idiom) meaning 'versus', cf *IH6*, I II 47, 'Blue coats to tawny coats' [R]

6 *Cæsar must think*] † Apart from the halting rhythm, this is an oddly third-personal way for *Mæcenas* to address *Cæsar* (which he is clearly doing, and not delivering a comment aside)

Should we perhaps read *Cæsar, we must think?* [R]

9 *Make boot of*] take advantage of
See on II v 71 *ante*

12 *files*] 'It must be added that the file was, in those days, the unit (to use a modern phrase) in which the strength of an army was expressed Men took their places in the *files*, not in the *ranks* of an army' (*Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, 1916, I iv, p 114)

Of those that serv'd Mark Antony but late,
 Enough to fetch him in See it done,
 And feast the army, we have store to do 't, 15
 And they have earn'd the waste Poor Antony! [*Exeunt*]

[SCENE II — *Alexandria Cleopatra's palace*]

Enter ANTONY, CLEOPATRA, ENOBARBUS, CHARMIAN,
 IRAS, ALEXAS, *with others*

Ant He will not fight with me, Domitius?

Eno No

Ant Why should he not?

Eno He thinks, being twenty times of better fortune,
 He is twenty men to one

Ant To-morrow, soldier,

By sea and land I'll fight or I will live,
 Or bathe my dying honour in the blood 5
 Shall make it live again Woo't thou fight well?

Eno I'll strike, and cry 'Take all'

Scene II

1 Domitius?] Domitius *Rowe and others, Domitian?* F

14 *fetch him in*] capture him, as in
Cym, iv ii 140 'and swear / He 'ld
fetch us in'

16 *waste*] needless expenditure

Scene II

[See North, *post*, p 271]

5 *or*] either

6 *Or bathe blood*] perhaps an
 allusion to baths of blood as a remedy
 Mr C Crawford refers me to Jonson's
Discoveries, line 1058 '*Morb*: The
 Body hath certaine diseases, that are
 with lesse evil, tolerated, then rem-
 mov'd As if to cure a Leprosie a man
 should *bathe* himselfe with the warme
blood of a murdered Child, so,' etc, on
 which Professor Schelling refers, *inter*
alia, to '*Gesta Romanorum*, ed Osterley,
 No 230, in which a girl afflicted with
 leprosy, only to be cured by her *bathing*

in royal *blood*, accepts the sacrifice of
 her royal lover, who allows so much
 blood to be taken from him that it
 causes his death' In a citation of
 Carlyle's (*French Rev*, i 1 2) from
 Lacretelle, *Histoire de France*, etc,
 occurs 'an absurd and horrid rumour
 rises among the people, it is said that
 the doctors have ordered a Great Per-
 son to take *baths* of young human *blood*
 for the restoration of his own, all
 spoiled by debaucheries'

7 *Woo 't*] a common form = *wilt*
 Cf iv xv 59 *post*, *Ham*, v i 298, S
 Rowlands, *The Knave of Clubbs* (Percy
 Society, 1843, No xxxiv, pp 9-12
passim) 'Why doe and t' woot,' etc

8 '*Take all*'] Johnson 'Let the
 survivor *take all* No composition, vic-
 tory or death' No doubt the expres-
 sion comes, as Collier says, from the

Ant

Well said, come on,
Call forth my household servants, let's to-night

Enter three or four Servitors

Be bounteous at our meal Give me thy hand, 10
Thou hast been rightly honest,—so hast thou,—
Thou,—and thou,—and thou you have serv'd me well,
And kings have been your fellows

Cleo [*Aside to Eno*]

What means this?

Eno [*Aside to Cleo*]

'Tis one of those odd tricks which
sorrow shoots
Out of the mind

Ant

And thou art honest too

15

I wish I could be made so many men,
And all of you clapp'd up together in
An Antony, that I might do you service,
So good as you have done.

All

The gods forbid!

Ant

Well, my good fellows, wait on me to-night 20
Scant not my cups, and make as much of me
As when mine empire was your fellow too,
And suffer'd my command

Cleo

[*Aside to Eno*] What does he mean?

Eno

[*Aside to Cleo*] To make his followers weep

Ant

Tend me to-night,

May be it is the period of your duty, 25
Haply you shall not see me more, or if,
A mangled shadow Perchance to-morrow

13, 14 *Aside*] *Capell* 23, 24 *Aside*] *Capell*

language of gaming See *A Warning for Fair Women*, II 683 (Simpson, *School of Shakspeare*, II 295) 'Yong San Come, Harrie, shall we play a game?' *Har* At what? *Yong San* Why, at crosse and pile *Har* You have no Counters *Yong San* Yes, but I have as many as you *Har* Ile drop with you, and he that has most, *take all* 'A proverbial expression, 'the longer liver *take all*,' occurs in *Rom*, I v 19, and elsewhere

9-10 S D] †The majority of editors from Dyce onwards have put this

S D after 'meal,' a good example of the difference in placing S D's required by the different depths of the Elizabethan and modern stages F's placing avoids the awkward pause which, on the deep Elizabethan stage, would have intervened between the entry and Antony's 'Give me thy hand' [R]

13 *kings fellows*] Cf III XII 5 and XIII 91 *ante*

25 *period*] end (full stop), as in IV XIV 107 *post*

You'll serve another master I look on you,
 As one that takes his leave Mine honest friends,
 I turn you not away, but like a master 30
 Married to your good service, stay till death
 Tend me to-night two hours, I ask no more,
 And the gods yield you for't¹

Eno What mean you, sir,
 To give them this discomfort? Look, they weep,
 And I, an ass, am onion-ey'd, for shame, 35
 Transform us not to women

Ant Ho, ho, ho!
 Now the witch take me, if I meant it thus!
 Grace grow where those drops fall, my hearty friends,
 You take me in too dolorous a sense,
 For I spake to you for your comfort, did desire you 40
 To burn this night with torches know, my hearts,
 I hope well of to-morrow, and will lead you
 Where rather I'll expect victorious life,
 Than death, and honour Let's to supper, come,
 And drown consideration [Exeunt 45

38 fall, my friends,] fall (my Friends) *F*, fall! My friends,
Theobald

30-1 *but like a master stay till death*] † I suppose this must mean 'You have served me well and I will remain your master till I die,' but I think that the *like* is slightly awkward, and that the natural sense (though it cannot be extracted from the text) would be 'I ask you to stay with me till I die' (which, the whole context implies, will be soon) It is perhaps worth considering a 'transposed pointing' so that the passage will read 'I turn you not away, but like a master / Married to your good service stay till death, / Tend me ' Then, taking *but* = except, the lines will mean 'I am not turning you away except as any master would warn loyal servants of his approaching death stay with me till death comes' [R]

33 *yield*] pay, requite, the original sense Cf *ATL*, III III 81 'God'ld you for your last company,' etc

35 *And I onion ey'd*] Cf I II 167
 36 *Ho, ho, ho*] After his brief indulgence in sentiment and pathos, Antony laughs it off Holt White seriously produces many instances of a single *ho* = stop, to show that *stop* or *desist* is the sense here

37 *the witch take me*] may I be bewitched! For *take* = bewitch, exert a malignant influence on, cf *Ham*, I I 163 'No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm', *Wiv*, IV IV 33, of Herne the hunter 'And then he blasts the tree and takes the cattle,' etc, *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (1575), I II 26 'As though they had ben taken with fairies, or els with some ill sprite'

38 *Grace grow fall*] Steevens quotes *R2* [III IV 104-5] 'Here did she fall a tear, here in this place / I'll set a bank of rue, sour herb of grace'

44 *death, and honour*] refers to IV II 6 *ante*

[SCENE III — *The same Before the palace*]*Enter a Company of Soldiers*

First Sold Brother, good night to-morrow is the day

Sec Sold It will determine one way fare you well

Heard you of nothing strange about the streets?

First Sold Nothing what news?

Sec Sold Belike 'tis but a rumour, good night to you

5

First Sold Well, sir, good night

They meet other Soldiers

Thurd Sold Soldiers, have careful watch

First Sold And you good night, good night

[*They place themselves in every corner of the stage*]

Sec Sold Here we and if to-morrow

Our navy thrive, I have an absolute hope

Our landmen will stand up

First Sold 'Tis a brave army,

10

And full of purpose

[*Music of the hautboys is under the stage*]

Scene III

† I have retained throughout the scene the stage-directions and speech-headings of F, except immediately after the entry of the 'other soldiers' where one of the two speeches (given by F to '2' and '1' respectively) must, I think, be given to one of the newcomers. I can see no valid reason elsewhere for joining in the game of musical chairs played by the eighteenth century editors with the rest of the speeches. Capell up to a point saw, I think, what is supposed to be happening. His stage-directions are *Enter two Soldiers, to their guard* then *Enter two other Soldiers*. Shakespeare, I think, meant there to be four or five soldiers in each group, even though only two in each are vocal, and his '*they meet*' indicates that the second group come in by the other door. But Capell then obscures the situation by giving, instead of '*They place themselves*,' '*The two first go to their posts,*' rather as though they went off-stage to their posts—

which, from his own subsequent stage-directions, they clearly do not. He saw, however, that all the soldiers are on guard. Dover Wilson complicates matters further by saying that the dialogue makes it plain that the first two are going off guard and the second pair coming on (though he retains F's stage-directions) and therefore has to accept Capell's redistribution of speeches in lines 9-12. But Shakespeare's intentions are, I suggest, perfectly clear. A number of sentries meet, as they go on their way to their posts, and exchange greetings. They then distribute themselves to their posts, which are, by the space-destroying conventions of the Elizabethan stage, improbably close together (cf the tents of Richard and Richmond in *R3*, v. iii). Thus they are in a position not only to hear the music, which in fact they could have done, but to interchange comments on it, which in fact they could not. [R]

5 *Belike*] probably, as in 11 35 *ante*

Sec Sold Peace, what noise?
First Sold List, list!
Sec Sold Hark!
First Sold Music i' the air
Thrd Sold Under the earth
Fourth Sold It signs well, does it not?
Thrd Sold No
First Sold Peace, I say
 What should this mean?
Sec Sold 'Tis the god Hercules, whom Antony lov'd, 15
 Now leaves him
First Sold Walk, let's see if other watchmen
 Do hear what we do
Sec Sold How now, masters? [*Speak together*
All How now?
 How now? do you hear this?
First Sold Ay, is 't not strange?
Thrd Sold Do you hear, masters? do you hear?
First Sold Follow the noise so far as we have quarter 20
 Let's see how it will give off
All Content 'Tis strange
 [*Exeunt*]

17 S D and All] *Speak together Omnes F, All [Speak ing together] most edd*

11 *noise*] possibly = music here, as understood in *Mac*, iv 1 106 'and what *noise* is this?' [*Hautboys*], but the word in North (see *post*, p 271) applies generally, including the cries and sounds of a multitude, as well as music, and the marginal note is, 'Strange noises heard, and nothing scene'

13 *signs well*] signifies good luck

15 *Hercules lov'd*] See on i iii 84 ante Upton and Capell note that Shakespeare varies from Plutarch here (see extracts, *post*, p 271) in substituting Hercules, Antony's supposed ancestor, for Bacchus, the object of his 'singular devotion,' etc In recounting the signs and wonders antecedent to Actium, Plutarch says (North, *Tudor*

Trans, vi 63) 'And at the citie of Athens also, the statue of Bacchus with a terrible winde was throwen downe in the Theater It was sayd that Antonius came of the race of Hercules, as you have heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed Bacchus and therefore he was called the new Bacchus' Cf also North extracts, *post*, p 247

17 *Speak together*] another 'imperative' S D Cf ii v 73

20 *as quarter*] as the post assigned to us (i.e. our watch) extends Cf *John*, v v 20 'Well keep good *quarter* and good care to-night'

21 *give off*] cease (in modern northern dialect 'give over')

[SCENE IV — *The same A room in the palace*]

Enter ANTONY and CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, and others
attending

Ant Eros! mine armour, Eros!

Cleo Sleep a little

Ant No, my chuck Eros! come, mine armour, Eros!

Enter EROS with armour

Come, good fellow, put thine iron on

If fortune be not ours to-day, it is

Because we brave her Come

Cleo Nay, I'll help too

5

What's this for?

Ant Ah, let be, let be! thou art

Scene iv

S D *Enter*] *Malone, Enter Anthony and Cleopatra, with others F* 2 S D
with armour] *added by Capell* 3 *thine*] *F, mine Hammer and many other edd*
5-8 *Nay must be*] *As Malone (Capell's suggestion), in F all assigned to Cleo*
reading Nay, I'll help too, Anthony See note

S D] F's omission of Charmian may be just an oversight, but it may suggest that Charmian's few words and Cleopatra's two words of rejoinder (line 35) were an after-thought

2 *chuck*] This term of fondness (= chuck) was used of either sex. So Mistress Potluck in Cartwright's *Ordinary*, 1651, 111 'Thou must keep nothing from thy Rib, good Chuck' And cf *Mac*, III 11 45

3 *thine iron*] † I see no justification for changing F, but some at least of the editors who retain it adduce a weak reason, namely that a third *mine* would be repetitive. Why not? But Antony is, I think, being slightly humorous 'Come on, Eros, put your whole ironmonger's shop on me' [R]

5-8 † I think Capell's suggestion must be, in the main, right F reads

Cleo Nay, Ile helpe too, *Anthony*
What's this for? Ah let be, let be,
thou art

The Armourer of my heart False,
false This, this,

Sooth-law Ile helpe thus it must bee
It is quite clear that this does not all belong to Cleopatra, and fairly clear that from 'Ah let be' down to at any rate 'False, false,' and probably to 'This, this' belongs to Antony, while the italic *Anthony* was a speech heading, and not a proper name, in the text, but found its way into the wrong place. Dover Wilson suggests that Antony's speech was added in the margin, which is possible enough, but does not, I think, go far enough, since if we then take what remains for Cleopatra it is awkward, running

Cleo Nay, Ile helpe too, what's this
for?

Sooth-law Ile helpe thus it
must be

I suggest that 'Sooth-law Ile helpe' was also part of the addition, with the appropriate speech-heading for Cleopatra, and that her speech originally stood simply

Cleo Nay, Ile helpe too, what's this
for? Thus it must bee [R]

The armourer of my heart false, false, this, this.

Cleo Sooth, la, I'll help thus it must be

Ant Well, well,

We shall thrive now Seest thou, my good fellow?

Go, put on thy defences

Eros Briefly, sir

10

Cleo Is not this buckled well?

Ant Rarely, rarely

He that unbuckles this, till we do please

To daff't for our repose, shall hear a storm

Thou fumblest, Eros, and my queen's a squire

More tight at this than thou despatch O love,

15

That thou couldst see my wars to-day, and knew'st

The royal occupation, thou shouldst see

A workman in't

Enter an armed Soldier

Good morrow to thee, welcome

Thou look'st like him that knows a warlike charge

To business that we love, we rise betime,

20

And go to't with delight

Sold A thousand, sir,

Early though 't be, have on their riveted trim,

And at the port expect you [*Shout Trumpets flourish*]

13 daff't] *Dyce*, daft *F*, doft *Fz*

6-7 *thou heart* 'your work is to steel my heart with courage, not,' etc (*Deighton*)

7 *false, false* 'That is all wrong' (*Deighton*)

10 *Briefly* in a moment

13 *daff't*] doff it, put it off For the form, cf *Ado*, II iii 187, v 1 78

15 *tight*] deft, adroit So the adverb in *Massinger*, *The Picture*, v iii 58 'You shall see I am experienced at the game, / And can play it *tightly*', and *Spence's Lucian* (1684), 1 70 '*Vulcan* [To Jupiter] Take heed we don't commit some Absurdity, for I shall not manage you so *tightly* as a Midwife would' *Tight* sometimes improperly represents the adverb *tite* = quickly

18 *A workman*] a real craftsman

22 *riveted trim*] *trim* = any kind of dress or finery (cf *Sonn* xcvi) († but surely there is here something of the sense in which a ship or her sails are 'trimmed', i.e. properly adjusted [R]) See *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, 1616, v (*Simpson's School of Shakspeare*, II 200) and *H5*, iv, prol 13 'The armourers, accomplishing the knights, / With busy hammers closing rivets up,' on which *Douce* 'This does not solely refer to the business of *riveting* the plate armour before it was put on, but in part to when it was on Thus,' etc See *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, 1807, or *H5* (*Arden Shakspeare*), ad loc

23 *port*] gate So in *H4*, iv v 23

Enter Captains, and Soldiers

Capt The morn is fair good morrow, general

All Good morrow, general

Ant 'Tis well blown, lads 25

This morning, like the spirit of a youth

That means to be of note, begins betimes

So, so, come, give me that this way, well said

Fare thee well, dame, whate'er becomes of me

This is a soldier's kiss rebukeable, [*Kisses her* 30

And worthy shameful check it were, to stand

On more mechanic compliment, I'll leave thee

Now like a man of steel You that will fight,

Follow me close, I'll bring you to't Adieu

[*Exeunt Antony, Eros, Captains, and Soldiers*

Char Please you retire to your chamber?

Cleo Lead me 35

He goes forth gallantly that he and Cæsar might

Determine this great war in single fight!

Then Antony—, but now—Well, on [*Exeunt.*

24 *Capt*] *Rowe, Alex F* 28 well said] *F2, well-sed F* 30 *Kisses her*
Johnson, not in F 34 *SD Exeunt*] *Capell (substantially), Exeunt F*

'the *ports* of slumber,' and Chapman's *Hesiod, Georgics*, i, p 216, col 1, note 'He calls this seven-*ported* Thebes, to distinguish it from that of Egypt, that had a hundred *ports*,' etc See also on i iii 46 *ante*

24 *Capt*] *Rowe's* necessary substitution for *F Alex* See iv vi 12 *post*

25 'Tis well blown] *Delius* and *Rolfe* refer this to the trumpets (which blow a 'Good Morrow' see *Oth*, iii 1 2, *Arden Shakespeare*), *Hudson* and *Deighton* to the morning, 'the metaphor being employed of night blossoming into day' (*Hudson*) The former explanation is simple and unforced, the latter forced yet, as it has some excuse in lines 26-7, it at least demands record

28 *So, so said*] *Antony* is still putting on his armour, and the 'that' is a piece of it 'Well said' signalizes the completion of the arming

well said] well done, as often in *Shakespeare*, approving action, not speech 'Well said, Hal' to it, Hal' (*1H4*, v iv 75, where Hal is not saying anything but fighting for his life), 'Well said, I'faith, Wart' (*2H4*, iii ii 298, Wart not having opened his mouth), 'Now masters, draw (*They shoot*) O' well said, Lucius!' (*Tit*, iv iii 63) The phrase is, in fact, just the equivalent of 'Attaboy!'

32 *mechanic*] From the contemptuous application to artisans, as in v ii 208 *post*, 'mechanic slaves', the word came to mean 'vulgar', 'common', and this sense, or 'journeyman-like', is assigned here It does not seem altogether satisfactory, I should prefer to take 'to stand on more mechanic compliment' as = to stand on ceremony, were evidence forthcoming for the early use of *mechanic* for unspontaneous, and so ceremonious or conventional

[SCENE V — *Alexandria Antony's camp*]

Trumpets sound Enter ANTONY and EROS, a soldier meeting them

Sold The gods make this a happy day to Antony!

Ant Would thou, and those thy scars had once prevail'd
To make me fight at land!

Sold Hadst thou done so,
The kings that have revolted, and the soldier
That has this morning left thee, would have still
Follow'd thy heels

5

Ant Who's gone this morning?

Sold Who?

One ever near thee, call for Enobarbus,
He shall not hear thee, or from Cæsar's camp
Say 'I am none of thine'

Ant What sayest thou?

Sold Sir,

He is with Cæsar

Eros Sir, his chests and treasure

10

He has not with him

Ant Is he gone?

Sold Most certain

Ant Go, Eros, send his treasure after, do it,
Detain no jot, I charge thee write to him—
I will subscribe—gentle adieus, and greetings,

Scene v

S D *a Soldier meeting them*] *Theobald, not in F* 1 *Sold*] *Theobald (Thrlby cony)*, *Eros F* 3, 6 *Sold*] *Eros F*

S D and speech-headings] †There is some confusion here, and confusion for which it is not easy to account. One might suppose that Shakespeare had intended to operate with only Antony and Eros, but found that later he wanted another speaker, and hurriedly inserted a soldier. But this will not account for the opening lines since 'those thy scars' makes it certain that this is the soldier of III vii 61, with his 'these my wounds', and the second

speech which F attributes to Eros must therefore from the outset have been the soldier's [R]

1 *happy*] lucky

2-3 *Would land*] See III vii 61-6

7 *Enobarbus*] In Plutarch (see North, *post*, p 264) Enobarbus deserts prior to Actium. It is the brave man-at-arms whom Antony calls Scarus in scenes VII and VIII *post* who presently decamps with his reward, see North, p 270

Say, that I wish he never find more cause 15
 To change a master O, my fortunes have
 Corrupted honest men Despatch —Enobarbus
 [Exeunt.]

[SCENE VI — *Alexandria Cæsar's camp*]

Flourish Enter AGRIPPA, CÆSAR, *with* ENOBARBUS,
and DOLABELLA

Cæs Go forth, Agrippa, and begin the fight
 Our will is Antony be took alive,
 Make it so known

Agr Cæsar, I shall [Exit

Cæs The time of universal peace is near 5
 Prove this a prosperous day, the three-nook'd world

17 Despatch —Enobarbus] See note

Scene vi

4 Exit] not in F

16-17 O, my fortunes men] See note on III xiii 32-4 ante

17 Despatch —Enobarbus] F has *Dispatch* Enobarbus, F2 *Dispatch* Eros, whence Pope, *Dispatch my Eros*, Steevens, 1793 (Ritson conj) *Eros, despatch* Steevens (1773) reads *Dispatch* Enobarbus' Capell *Dispatch* —O Enobarbus' Thielton says the reading of F means 'Get fully quit of Enobarbus by sending his belongings after him,' a sense which would need much softening to put it in harmony with what precedes For Antony's conduct, cf North, *post*, p 264 According to Plutarch, Cæsar similarly treated Labienus on his desertion to Pompey (*Life of Julius Cæsar*)

Scene vi

S D] †The placing of Agrippa first may be due to mere carelessness, but does it perhaps indicate that Agrippa is to enter by a different door (on his return from seeing that the troops are

ready for action, or the like)? [R]

6 *three-nook'd*] three-cornered, alluding, perhaps, to the world's having been divided between the Triumvirs See also Cæs, iv 1 14 A trine aspect of the world was familiar to contemporary poets apart from such associations See Pearson's *Heywood*, iii 242 (*The Brazen Age*) 'Il'e make her Empresse ore the *triple* world', *Lochrine*, iii iv 36 'Stout Hercules / That tam'd the monsters of the *three-fold* world', *ibid* v iv 5 'The great foundation of the *triple* world, / Trembleth,' etc In such cases the phrase was probably caught from the *triplex mundus* of Ovid, *Metam*, xii 40, involvingsky, land, and sea Du Bartas (Sylvester, 1621 ed) speaks of the earth as divided 'in *three* vnequall Portions' by the sea and its arms (p 49) and again (p 268), of 'this spacious Orb' as parted by the Creator 'Into *three* Parts,' east, south, and west, 'Twixt *Sem*, and *Cham*, and *Japheth*'

Shall bear the olive freely

Enter a Messenger

Mess

Antony

Is come into the field

Cæs

Go charge Agrippa,

Plant those that have revolted in the vant,

That Antony may seem to spend his fury

10

Upon himself

[*Exeunt all but Enobarbus*]

Eno

Alexas did revolt, and went to Jewry on

Affairs of Antony, there did dissuade

Great Herod to incline himself to Cæsar,

And leave his master Antony For this pains,

15

Cæsar hath hang'd him, Candius and the rest

That fell away, have entertainment, but

No honourable trust I have done ill,

Of which I do accuse myself so sorely,

That I will joy no more

Enter a Soldier of CÆSAR'S

Sold

Enobarbus, Antony

20

9 vant] *F*, van *F2* and *edd*
(dissuade), persuade *Rowe*

11 *Exeunt*] *Exeunt F*
20 more] *F2*, mote *F*

13 dissuade] *F*

7 bear] bring forth Cf *2H4*, iv 1v
87 'But Peace puts forth her olive everywhere' Mason—in favour of bear = carry—ignores metaphor in objecting that Augustus' success 'could not make the olive-tree grow without culture in all climates', but Schmidt also explains wear So D'Avenant sings in *The first dayes entertainment at Rutland House* 'Did ever war so cease / That all might olive wear?'

9 vant] the old form of the word, short for *vantward*, whence *vanguard* and so *van*

12 and] † ? 'a (= he) Alexas clearly did not revolt before he went to Jewry [R]

13 dissuade] Johnson thought dissuade of *F* probably right North (*post*, p 269) has persuaded, but it is not impossible that the thought of dissuasion

from Antony's service determined the word here When King John's emissary pander, in Drayton's *Legend of Matilda*, becomes threateningly persuasive, the heroine does not describe herself, during her hesitation, as by fear persuaded, but 'By fear dissuaded, menaced by murder' (stanza 74), not thinking of persuasion to unchasteness—the natural sequence—but dissuasion from chastity *Dissuade* can be followed by the infinitive *OED* quotes Camden's *Remains*, ed 1637, p 246 'Some dissuaded him to hunt that day'

17 entertainment] employment Cf *All's W*, iv 1 16 'He must think us some band of strangers i' the adversary's entertainment', *A Report*, etc, 1591 (*The Revenge*, ed Arber, p 27) 'A notable testimonie of their rich entertainment and great wages'

Hath after thee sent all thy treasure, with
His bounty overplus The messenger
Came on my guard, and at thy tent is now
Unloading of his mules

Eno I give it you

Sold Mock not, Enobarbus, 25

I tell you true best you saf'd the bringer
Out of the host, I must attend mine office,
Or would have done't myself Your emperor
Continues still a Jove

[*Exit*

Eno I am alone the villan of the earth, 30

And feel I am so most O Antony,
Thou mine of bounty, how wouldst thou have paid
My better service, when my turpitude
Thou dost so crown with gold! This blows my heart
If swift thought break it not, a swifter mean 35

Shall outstrike thought, but thought will do't, I feel

I fight against thee? No, I will go seek

Some ditch, wherein to die the foul'st best fits

My latter part of life [*Exit.*

36 do't, I feel] *Rowe*, doo't I feele *F*

23 on my] while I was on

26 true best] †? 'twere has dropped
out before *best*, by confusion with *true*
[*R*]

saf'd] conducted safely Cf *Chapman's Homer, Odyssey*, iv (ed *Shepherd*, p 332b) 'Neptune / Saf't him
unwrack'd to the Gyraean isle' *Safe* =
make safe, occurs in i iii 55 ante

31 And feel most] and am he who
most realizes it

32 mine of bounty] Cf *iH4*, iii 1 167
'as bountiful As mines of India'

34 blows] swells, 'makes it full to
bursting' (*Schmidt*) Cf *blown* =
swollen, v ii 347 post (if that is what it
means there), and *Jonson, Catiline*, iv
18 'It is our base petitionary breath

That blows 'em to this greatness'

† But may it not mean simply 'beats
upon'? [*R*]

35 mean] See on iii ii 32 ante

35, 36 thought] melancholy See on
iii xiii 1 ante, and cf 'in great trowble,
thought, and hevines' (p 13) with
'right great trowble, sorow, and
hevines' (p 17) in *Historie of the Arrivall
of Edward IV*, etc (*Camden Society*,
1838) Cf *Ham*, iv v 187 and *Brome*,
A mad Couple well Match'd (*Pearson's*
Brome, i 16) 'And can you beso mild?'
then farwell *thought*, the exclamation
of a husband whose wife has inquired
into the cause of his melancholy and
forgiven its offensive nature when
confessed

[SCENE VII — *Field of battle between the camps*]*Alarum Drums and trumpets Enter AGRIPPA and others*

Agr Retire, we have engag'd ourselves too far
 Cæsar himself has work, and our oppression
 Exceeds what we expected [*Exeunt*]

Alarums Enter ANTONY, and SCARUS wounded

Scar O my brave emperor, this is fought indeed!
 Had we done so at first, we had droven them home 5
 With clouts about their heads

Ant Thou bleed'st apace

Scar I had a wound here that was like a T,
 But now 'tis made an H [*Retreat afar off*]

Ant They do retire

Scar We'll beat 'em into bench-holes, I have yet
 Room for six scotches more 10

*Enter EROS**Scene VII*

S D Enter others] *Steevens, 1778, Enter Agrippa F* 2 and our oppression]
F, our opposition Hanmer 8 *Retreat afar off*] *Capell, Far off (after heads,*
line 6) F

2 *our oppression*] † our difficulties—
 but *Hanmer's opposition* is tempting
 [R]

4 *Scarus*] As *Capell* notes, the name
 is not from *Plutarch*, the hero of this
 sally being merely 'one of his [*Antony's*]
 men of armes' The character,
 as he further says, was a necessity, in
 order to fill up the place about *Antony*
 left vacant by *Enobarbus*

6 *clouts*] cloths, bandages The sug-
 gested 'cuffs', or 'blows' is not blood-
 thirsty enough for *Scarus* or for the
 wounds of the scene, received and
 meditated (line 12)

8 *an H*] *Scarus'* jocular allusion to
 the enlargement of his wound is sup-
 posed to include a play on *H* and *ache*,
 once often pronounced alike Cf *Ado*,
 iii iv 55 There would be more con-

fidence about it if we could find any
 particular reason for selecting 'T' just
 before († But a T with an extra stroke
 (wound) at the bottom is an H on its
 side, if we are thinking of printed
 capitals And see *Dover Wilson's* note
ad loc giving *Maunde Thompson's*
 comment on the minuscule letters in
 'secretary' hand [R]

9 *bench-holes*] holes of privies Cf
North-ward Hoe, 1607, v (*Pearson's*
Dekker, iii 78) 'The Trab [*i.e. drab*]
 will driue you (if she put you before
 her) into a *bench hole*', *Fletcher*,
Woman Pleas'd, iv iii (*Camb VII*
 291) 'That I were a Cat now, / Or
 anything could run into a *Bench-hole*'
Malone quotes *Cecil's Secret Correspondence*
 (ed *Lord Hailes*, 1766) 'I will
 leave it like an abort in a *bench-hole*'

Eros They are beaten, sir, and our advantage serves
For a fair victory

Scar Let us score their backs,
And snatch 'em up, as we take hares, behind,
'Tis sport to maul a runner

Ant I will reward thee
Once for thy spritely comfort, and ten-fold 15
For thy good valour Come thee on

Scar I'll halt after
[*Exeunt*

[SCENE VIII — *Under the walls of Alexandria*]

Alarum Enter ANTONY again, in a march, SCARUS, with others

Ant We have beat him to his camp run one before,
And let the queen know of our gestic to-morrow
Before the sun shall see's, we'll spill the blood
That has to-day escap'd I thank you all,
For doughty-handed are you, and have fought 5
Not as you serv'd the cause, but as't had been
Each man's like mine you have shown all Hectors
Enter the city, clip your wives, your friends,
Tell them your feats, whilst they with joyful tears
Wash the congealment from your wounds, and kiss 10
The honour'd gashes whole

Enter CLEOPATRA

[*To Scarus*] Give me thy hand,
To this great fairy I'll commend thy acts,

13 hares, behind] *Theobald*, Hares behinde *F*

Scene VIII

2 gestic] *Theobald* (*Warburton*), guests *F* 11 *To Scarus*] *Rowe*, not in *F*

15 *spritely*] cheerful, high-spirited
It has a 'solder' connotation than our
modern rather effervescent one Cf
iv xiv 52 *post*, our *sprightly port*

Scene VIII

[See North, *post*, p 270]

2 gestic] deeds So Heywood, *The*
Exemplary Lives of Nine, the most

worthy *Women of the World*, 1640, sig
**3 'Of History there be foure
species, either taken from place, as
Geography, from time, as Chrono-
logie, from Generation, as Genea-
logie, or from gestic really done,' etc

8 *clip*] hug, as frequently So in
Cor, i vi 29 'O let me *clip* ye,' etc
12 *fairy*] enchantress Used of

Make her thanks bless thee O thou day o' the world,
 Chain mine arm'd neck, leap thou, attire and all,
 Through proof of harness to my heart, and there 15
 Ride on the pants triumphing¹

Cleo Lord of lords,
 O infinite virtue, com'st thou smiling from
 The world's great snare uncaught?

Ant My nightingale,
 We have beat them to their beds What, girl, though
 grey
 Do something mingle with our younger brown, yet 20
 ha' we
 A brain that nourishes our nerves, and can
 Get goal for goal of youth Behold this man,
 Commend unto his lips thy favouring hand
 Kiss it, my warrior he hath fought to-day
 As if a god in hate of mankind had 25
 Destroy'd in such a shape

Cleo I'll give thee, friend,
 An armour all of gold, it was a king's

Ant He has deserv'd it, were it carbuncled

18 *My* *F2*, *Mine F* 23 favouring] *Theobald*, savouring *F*

Venus by Sylvester, *Du Bartas*, *The Magnificence*, ed 1621, p 461 'But O, fair Faery, who art thou?', by Braithwaite, of a courtesan, *Strappado for the Duell*, 1615, *The Conyburrow* 'Now my (prodigious faery) that canst take / Vpon occasion a contrary shape' In Shirley's *The Brothers*, II 1 (*Works*, 1833, I 217), Carlos says of a girl 'Ha! turn away / That faery, she's a witch, the count talks with her' Delius says Cleopatra is so called as dispenser of the good fortune which Scarus had deserved by his valour, such being the light in which the faeries were regarded in Shakespeare's time

15 *proof of harness*] proof-armour, in which sense *proof* alone usually appears Cf *Rom*, I 1 216 'And in strong *proof* of chastity well arm'd'

16 *Rude triumphing*] Fletcher imitates this in *The False One*, IV II 126 '*Cleo* I love with as much

ambition as a Conqueror, / And where I love, will triumph / *Cesar* So you shall, / My heart shall be the chariot that shall bear ye,' etc For the accentuation, *triumphing*, cf *R3*, III IV 88

17 *virtue*] valour (the Latin *virtus*), as in *Lr*, V III 104 'Trust to thy single *virtue*,' etc

18 *world's great snare*] 'i.e. the war' (Steevens) († less limited, I think, and nearer to 'all the snares the world can set' [R])

19-20 *though grey brown*] † in his present mood he can laugh about his greying hair cf III XI 13-15 *ante* [R]

22 *Get goal youth*] 'At all plays of barriers, the boundary is called a *goal*, to win a goal is to be a superior in a contest of activity' (Johnson)

25 *mankind*] 'Accented mostly on the last syllable in *Timon of Athens*, on the first in the other plays' (Schmidt)

28-9 *carbuncled car*] Cf *Cym*,

Like holy Phœbus' car Give me thy hand,
 Through Alexandria make a jolly march, 30
 Bear our hack'd targets like the men that owe them
 Had our great palace the capacity
 To camp this host, we all would sup together,
 And drink carouses to the next day's fate,
 Which promises royal peril Trumpeters, 35
 With brazen din blast you the city's ear,
 Make mingle with our rattling tabourines,
 That heaven and earth may strike their sounds
 together,
 Applauding our approach [Exeunt

v v 190, 'a carbuncle of Phœbus' wheel' In the description in Ovid, *Metam* II, which probably suggests the simile, the yoke of Phœbus' chariot is set with chrysolite and gems, his palace with carbuncles See also Fairfax's *Tasso*, 1600, xvii 34 'Her chariot like *Auroraes* glorious waine, / With *Carbuncles* and *Iacinthes* glistred round'

30 jolly] Professor Warwick Bond credits the word here with an approach to the 'sense of proud bearing,' in a note on *Shr*, III II 215 (Arden ed.), where he gives examples of jolly = arrogant, overbearing This is possible, but the ordinary sense, as in 'Be jolly, lords,' II vii 59 *ante*, is, I think, more likely here

31 owe] own, as very often The whole line admits of two senses, Johnson's straightforward 'Bear with spirit and exultation, such as becomes the brave warriors that own them,' and Warburton's interpretation of 'hack'd targets,' etc., as = 'hack'd as much as the men to whom they belong' Abbott (*Shakespearean Grammar*, §419a) includes the line as a probable case of such transposition of adjectival phrases

34 drink carouses] drain bumpers A German adverb *garais* = right out is the ultimate source of *carouse*, etc., and underwent little or no modification at first as English adverb, verb,

noun See, e.g. Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary*, 1617, pt III, p 90 'did at the very beginning of supper, drinke great *garausses*,' etc B Rich, *The Irish Hubbub* (see p XIX, Introduction to *The Honestie of this Age*, Percy Society, 1844) begins a description of 'Healths' thus 'In former ages they had no conceits whereby to draw on drunkenness, their best was, I drinke to you, and I pledge yee, till at length some shallow-witted drunkard found out the *Carowse*, which shortly afterwards was turned into a hearty draught' Each of the company drank a full cup quite out, or a carouse, in turn, after much ceremony and then, turning the cup bottom upward, 'in ostentation of his dexteritie,' filliped it 'to make it cry *Twango*' 'Hearty draught' was a new name mockingly employed by the convivial, since *Quaffing* and *Carousing* were reprobated See Gascoigne, *A Delicate Diet for daintie mouthde Dronkardes*, 1576

37 tabourines] Cf *Troil*, IV v 277 The commentators very naturally explain, 'small drums', but the tabourine appears to have been 'the full-sized military drum, corresponding to the modern side drum,' while the tabor was a little drum, chiefly devoted to peaceful amusements See Naylor, *Shakespeare and Music*, 1896, pp 161-2, and Cowling, *Music on the Shakespearean Stage* (1913), c III, p 42

[SCENE IX — *Cæsar's camp*]

Enter a Sentry and his company, ENOBARBUS follows

Sent If we be not reliev'd within this hour,
We must return to the court of guard the night
Is shiny, and they say we shall embattle
By the second hour i' the morn

First Watch This last day was
A shrewd one to's

Eno O bear me witness, night—

5

Sec Watch What man is this?

First Watch Stand close, and list him.

Eno Be witness to me, O thou blessed moon,
When men revolted shall upon record
Bear hateful memory poor Enobarbus did

Scene ix

†I have retained the stage-directions and speech-headings of F throughout the scene, with the exception of F's spelling '*Centerie*', and the additions of '*dies*' and '*with the body*', though indeed the latter is so clearly implied in the text that it is hardly needed. The usual stage-directions, deriving from Capell and Malone, are an amusing example of what was apt to happen when the eighteenth-century editors really got to work. Capell started off with *Sentinels upon their posts*, distributed the speeches as he thought best among three '*soldiers*' (giving the first speech, oddly enough, to the third), but adhered to F by giving *Enter Enobarbus* at the beginning of the scene, instead of, like later editors, bringing him in just before his opening words in line 5.

Now, in the first place, *Sentinels upon their posts* is an impossible stage-direction for the Elizabethan curtainless stage, which precluded ringing up on actors already in position, and on which everyone must '*enter*'. In the second place, Shakespeare did not bring on just any three soldiers, but rather an NCO and the two men

who with him were to form the sentry-group, and it is moderately clear from his speeches that the '*Sentry*' is the leader. Lastly, Enobarbus' entry in line 5 is awkward, partly because he too patently enters merely to deliver his farewell speeches, and partly because an abrupt entry after the watchmen are more or less in position ought to be the occasion for a challenge. Shakespeare brought him wandering in almost on the heels of the group, so that when he begins to speak they might have fancied that he had been there before them [R].

2 *court of guard*] guard-room, or other place of muster, as in *1H6*, II 14, Heywood, *GYNAIKEION*, 1624, p. 408 'his officers leave the *court of guard* and come to know the matter', and cf *Oth*, II III 218. According to *OED*, a perversion of *Corps de garde*, which came to mean guard-room, as well as the guard itself. In the original sense, it occurs several times in Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (*Works*, Dyce, ed. 1883, pp. 94-6), e.g. 'The *court-of-guard* is put unto the sword'. The forms *court de (du) guard* also occur.

5 *shrewd*] ill, curst, the old sense. So in *All's W*, III v 68 'a *shrewd turn*'.

Before thy face repent

Sent Enobarbus?

Sec Watch Peace! 10

Hark further.

Eno O sovereign mistress of true melancholy,
The poisonous damp of night disponge upon me,
That life, a very rebel to my will,
May hang no longer on me Throw my heart 15
Against the flint and hardness of my fault,
Which being dried with grief, will break to powder,
And finish all foul thoughts O Antony,
Nobler than my revolt is infamous,
Forgive me in thine own particular, 20
But let the world rank me in register
A master-leaver, and a fugitive
O Antony! O Antony!

First Watch Let's speak to him

Sent Let's hear him, for the things he speaks
May concern Cæsar

Sec Watch Let's do so, but he sleeps 25

Sent Swoons rather, for so bad a prayer as his
Was never yet for sleep

First Watch Go we to him

Sec Watch Awake, sir, awake, speak to us

First Watch Hear you, sir?

Sent The hand of death hath raught him
[*Drums afar off*] Hark, the drums
Demurely wake the sleepers Let us bear him 30

23] *Rowe inserted S D 'Dies', not in F*

12 O melancholy] the moon, so apostrophized for her 'wanne' face, and supposed influence in mental disease

13 disponge] drop, as from a sponge Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, I II 239, has 'The hand of Heaven his spongy clouds doth stram,' etc

20 in particular] as far as you yourself are concerned Cf I III 54 ante

22 master-leaver] it was a serious offence for an apprentice, or servant, to abscond

fugitive] deserter, as in Latin.

27 for] a prelude to

29 raught] = reached, but here most likely used in the further sense of *snatched away* So 2H6, II III 43, and Middleton, *Mayor of Queenborough*, IV II 154 'I was surpris'd / By villains, and so raught'

30 Demurely] solemnly (Warburton), soberly, gravely (Schmidt), in a subdued manner (OED) Perhaps the soldier inconsistently treats the mellowed sound, that reaches him at a

To th' court of guard he is of note our hour
Is fully out

Sec Watch Come on then, he may recover yet

[*Exeunt with the body*]

[SCENES X-XII — *Between the two camps*]

[SCENE X]

Enter ANTONY and SCARUS, with their Army

Ant Their preparation is to-day by sea,
We please them not by land

Scar For both, my lord

Ant I would they'd fight i' the fire, or i' the air,
We'd fight there too But this it is, our foot
Upon the hills adjoining to the city
Shall stay with us (order for sea is given,
They have put forth the haven),

5

33 S D *with the body*] added by Capell

Scene x

6-7 us (order haven)] vs Order Hauen F

distance, as if it were similarly heard by those in camp Hanmer reads *do early wakes*, Collier MS and ed 2, *Do early wake*, Dyce conjectures *Do merrily wake*

31 *court of guard*] See on line 2 above

Scene x

† Just as a reminder of the vexatiousness of modern scene-divisions with their 'Between the two camps'—'Another part of the same'—'Another part of the same,' I have omitted any further indications of place after the numbers of scenes xi and xii [R]

6-7 (*order haven*),] Most editors consider line 7 incomplete, and some out of many rash conjectures have even appeared in the text, as *Further on*, Rowe, *Let's seek a spot*, Malone, —*forward, now*, Dyce, etc If *Where* (line 8) has the force of *Whither*, as

most of them assume, the sense might be 'They have haven, to a place where we may best observe their array and watch their efforts, but *best* would be improbably applied save to Antony's choice of a vantage-point for observation, and bearing in mind that the situation is very like that in III ix *ante*, Where in line 8, here, seems to refer to *hills* (line 5) almost as inevitably as *from which place to yond side o' the hill* in that passage Luke Staunton, who, nevertheless, believed line 7 incomplete, I tentatively adopt the parenthesis of Knight, Collier, and Singer, as affording a plain sense in a practically undisturbed text

† R G White, though he used the reference to justify an insertion, refers, I think decisively, *against* the need for insertion, to the relevant passage in North (*post*, p 271) 'he went to set those few footemen he had in order

Where their appointment we may best discover,
And look on their endeavour [*Exeunt*]

[SCENE XI]

Enter CÆSAR, and his Army

Cæs But being charg'd, we will be still by land,
Which, as I take it, we shall, for his best force
Is forth to man his galleys To the vales,
And hold our best advantage [*Exeunt*]

[SCENE XII]

Alarum afar off, as at a sea-fight

Enter ANTONY and SCARUS

Ant Yet they are not join'd where yond pine does stand,

Scene XII

S D *Alarum*] *F*, placed later in scene by most edd See note

upon the hills adjoyning unto the
citie, and there he stooode to behold
his gallee which departed from the
haven' [R]

Scene xi

1-2 *But shall*] except being
charged, etc, i.e. Unless we are
assailed, we will remain quiescent by
land, which I expect we shall be left to
do Cf *but* as a preposition in such
phrases as 'We were all *but* killed or
being killed'

4 *hold advantage*] occupy the best
position we can

Scene xii

S D *Alarum*] †Most editors
have felt it necessary to transpose this
S D either (as Dover Wilson) to just
after Antony's exit at line 3, or (as
Steevens and most others, but, I think,
less happily) to just before his re-entry
in line 9, on the grounds that it is an
awkward opening to the scene, parti-
cularly in view of Antony's first
words Dover Wilson suggests that it

may have been written 'somewhat
indefinitely' in the margin This is no
doubt possible, but since it is also quite
possible that its position represents
Shakespeare's intention, it is worth
examining the point, not least because
it well illustrates the troubles that are
sometimes created by the post-Eliza-
bethan division into scenes F prints as
follows

our best advantage *exeunt*
Alarum afarre off, as at a Sea-fight
Enter Anthony, and Scarrus

Ant Yet they are

That is to say, the S D does not belong
to either 'scene,' but occupies the
empty-stage interval between *exeunt*
and *Enter* And we may, if we like,
assume that the producer faded out the
alarum just before Antony's entrance,
so that his opening words are not
absurd, but the audience knows that
he is wrong, which has a certain effec-
tiveness [R]

1 *pine*] The conspicuous tree prob-
ably supplies Antony with the meta-

I shall discover all I'll bring thee word
Straight, how 'tis like to go

[Exit

Scar Swallows have built
In Cleopatra's sails their nests The augurers
Say, they know not, they cannot tell, look grimly,
And dare not speak their knowledge Antony
Is valiant, and dejected, and by starts
His fretted fortunes give him hope and fear
Of what he has, and has not

5

Re-enter ANTONY

Ant All is lost
This foul Egyptian hath betrayed me
My fleet hath yielded to the foe, and yonder
They cast their caps up, and carouse together
Like friends long lost Triple-turn'd whore, 'tis thou
Hast sold me to this novice, and my heart

10

4 augurers] *Capell*, *Auguries F*

phor for himself in line 23 below, as
Thiselton notes His further deduc-
tions I cannot follow

3 *Swallows*, etc.] This omen is trans-
ferred from before Actum See North,
post, p. 262, and for the rest of the
scene, p. 271

4 *augurers*] †I have adopted the
usual emendation of F's *auguries*
There are no doubt plenty of places in
Shakespeare where an abstract is used
for a concrete, but seldom, I think,
where the abstract is immediately fol-
lowed by a run of verbs which seem to
demand a concretely personal subject
But I rather suspect that the true read-
ing is *augures*, a Latin plural, like 'pyra-
mides' in v. 11. 61 [R]

8 *fretted*] chequered To *fret* is to
interlace, and the noun *fret*—origin-
ally, a grille or grating—signifies
heraldic or architectural ornament
partaking of the nature of trelliswork
Hence the figurative use in the text to
express mingled or varied fortune, a
sense which the context seems to indi-
cate in preference to that of *harassed*,

unpaired, from the verb *fret* = gnaw,
corrode In *Cæs*, II. 1. 104 'and yon
grey lines / That *fret* the clouds are
messengers of day' we encounter the
word in the like, though not figurative,
sense of chequer, variegated

8-9 *hope and fear Of* not] 1 c
probably, hope of keeping and fear of
losing the power he still has, and hope
of recovering and fear of not recover-
ing what he has no longer It seems
better not to apply hope and fear
separately, that is to *has not* and *has*
respectively, supposing an irregular
correspondency as in rv. xv. 25-6 *post*

13 *Triple-turn'd*] Cf III. xiii. 116-18
ante Staunton's acuteness reconciled
this epithet with the fact that Cleo-
patra had more than three lovers, if
Octavius was to be reckoned as one
He says 'From Julius Caesar to Cneus
Pompey, from Pompey to Antony,
and, as he suspects now, from him to
Octavius Caesar' Previous commen-
tators had disputed as to whether
Pompey or Octavius was to be left out
of the application

Makes only wars on thee Bid them all fly 15
 For when I am reveng'd upon my charm,
 I have done all Bid them all fly, be gone [Exit Scarus
 O sun, thy uprise shall I see no more,
 Fortune and Antony part here, even here
 Do we shake hands All come to this? The hearts 20
 That spaniel'd me at heels, to whom I gave
 Their wishes, do discandy, melt their sweets
 On blossoming Cæsar and this pine is bark'd,
 That overtopp'd them all Betray'd I am
 O this false soul of Egypt! this grave charm, 25
 Whose eye beck'd forth my wars, and call'd them
 home,
 Whose bosom was my crownet, my chief end,

17 Exit Scarus] Capell, not in F 20 hands] Capell, hands? F 21 spaniel'd]
 Hanmer, pannelled F

16 charm] abstract for concrete, charmer or enchantress Cf *charmer* = enchantress in *Oth*, III iv 58, and *charm*, line 25, *spell*, line 30 *post*

21 spaniel'd] In support of this emendation of Hanmer's Tolet urges the frequent spelling *spannel* for *spaniel* [see, e.g., *spannell* in Lyly's *Campaspe*, v 1] and quotes *MND*, II i 203 *et seq* 'I am your *spaniel*,' etc Halliwell supplies an example closely resembling the text, from Copley's *Fig for Fortune*, 1596, p 64 'I *spanield* after Catechrysus' foot' Cf also *The Buggbears*, II i 19-20 (*Early Plays from the Italian*, 1911, R. Warwick Bond, p 99) 'they shold not run & lackie like spaniels at my stirrup, but shold ride every iorneye,' etc., and Pepys' Diary, 26 May 1660 'My Lord dined with the Vice-Admiral to-day (who is as officious, poor man! as any spaniel can be)' Upton defended F *pannelled* on the ground that a panel of wainscot, being inset, comes behind the main surface, and Theobald, more reasonably, adopted Warburton's conjecture *paniler'd me* for 'ran after me like footmen or pantlers,' comparing the contemptuous application of the noun in

Cym, II III 129 But, as has been observed, *paniler* does not mean servant or footman, and therefore one likely to follow at heel, but the servant who has the care of bread

22 discandy] See on III xiii 165 *ante*
 23 bark'd] stripped, and so destroyed

25 grave charm] Steevens 'deadly or destructive piece of witchcraft' Pope changed the epithet to *gay*, but *grave* in the above or some allied sense is far more beautiful and appropriate than this or other suggestions, as *great* (Collier MS), *grand* (Singer, ed 2), *brave* (Deighton conj.) In support of it Steevens adduces two passages from Chapman's Homer, viz *Iliad*, xix, and *Odyssey*, xxii [see Herne Shepherd's ed., 1875, pp 237b, 510b], containing 'thy *grave* ruin' and 'Their *grave* steel' respectively It is also possible, especially in view of the next line, that the word = potent or commanding Chapman (*Odyssey*, xxii, *ibid*, p 509b) makes Minerva say to Ulysses 'Priam's broad way'd town / By thy *grave* parts was sack'd and overthrown'

27 crownet] i.e. coronet the object

Like a right gipsy, that at fast and loose
 Beguil'd me, to the very heart of loss
 What, Eros, Eros!

Enter CLEOPATRA

Ah, thou spell! Avaunt!

30

Cleo Why is my lord enrag'd against his love?

Ant Vanish, or I shall give thee thy deserving,
 And blemish Cæsar's triumph Let him take thee,
 And hoist thee up to the shouting plebeians,

and reward of my toils Cf the use of *crown*, in various senses of fulfilment and superlativeness, in iv xv 63 *post*, Chapman's Homer (Steevens's reference), *Iliad*, ii [ed Herne Shepherd, 1875, p 33a] 'and all things have their crown', *ibid*, p 29b 'We fly, not putting on the crown of our so long held war' The form *crownet* recurs in v ii 91 *post*, in Peele, *Arraignment of Paris*, i 1 76 'Her robes, her lawns, her crownet, and her mace', and often

28-9 *Like a right of loss* †An interesting example of differences of punctuation The accepted modern punctuation is 'Like a right gipsy, hath, at fast and loose, / Beguil'd me to the very heart of loss' I think that F, throwing heavier emphasis on to the last six words, is more effective [R]

28 *right* true, typical

gipsy Hawkins notes 'a kind of pun arising from the corruption of the word *Ægyptian* into *gipsy*' The gipsies were falsely supposed from Egypt hence this name *via* Middle English *Egyptien*, and *Gipsen*, instanced by Skeat, *Etymol Dict*, from Spenser, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, line 86 See *Oth*, iii iv 57, and Jonson, *The Gipsies Metamorphos'd*, First Song (line 124) 'Thus the *Ægyptians* throng in clusters', and other passages as line 60 'Gaze upon them, as on the offspring of Ptolemy, begotten upon several Cleopatras,' and 'And Queene Cleopatra, / The *gipsyes* grand-matra' (the Patric's

speech, line 173) Egyptian may still be heard for gipsy among the lower classes

fast and loose a cheating game thus described by Sir I Hawkins (1821 Variorum) 'A leathern belt is made up into a number of intricate folds, and placed edgewise upon a table One of the folds is made to represent the middle of the girdle, so that whoever should thrust a skewer into it would think he held it fast to the table, whereas, when he has so done, the person with whom he plays may take hold of both ends, and draw it away' There is a play on the game and hanging in Whetstone's 1 *Promos and Cassandra*, ii v 'Heare are new ropes how are my knots? I faith syr, slippery / At *fast or loose* with my Giptian, I mean to have a cast', and again in Harvey's *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe Gentleman*, etc., 1597, near the end The name was applied to any trick of apparent knots, and its figurative use is as familiar today as ever Cf also *LLL*, i ii 162, iii 1 109, and Suckling, 'Upon my Lord Brohall's Wedding' 'How weak is lover's law! / The bonds made there (like gipsies' knots) with ease / Are *fast and loose*, as they that hold them please'

29 *heart of loss* So Jonson, *Sejanus*, i 250 'I do not know / The heart of his designs'

34 *plebeians* The accent is similarly on the first syllable in *Cor*, i ix 7, v iv 40

And with those hands that grasp'd the heaviest club,
 Subdue my worthiest self The witch shall die,
 To the young Roman boy she hath sold me, and I fall
 Under this plot she dies for 't Eros, ho! [Exit

[SCENE XIII — *Alexandria Cleopatra's palace*]

Enter CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, IRAS, MARDIAN

Cleo Help me, my women! O, he's more mad
 Than Telamon for his shield, the boar of Thessaly
 Was never so emboss'd

Scene XIII

1 he's] *F* (hee's), he is *F2*

n d, p 30, Heywood relates the story of Julius Cæsar's realistic personation of Hercules, even to the actual slaying of the representative of Lichas Cf for the hyperbole in the text for extreme height, *Cor*, 1 1 219, and Fletcher, *The Sea Voyage*, 1 1 5 'I saw a Dolphin hang i' the horns o' th' moon, / Shot from a wave' etc Warburton thought it derived in this case from Seneca's *Hercules Oetæus* John Studley translates 'With Lycas thus his labours end throwne vp to heauen they say, / That with his dropping bloud the cloudes he stayned all the way' (*Seneca, His Tenne Tragedies*, etc., 1581, p 201)

47 *worthiest*] Rolfe explains 'worthiest of being subdued or destroyed', but Antony in lines 45-7 expresses the fury he seeks to show, in terms of the actions of his ancestor, the last of which was to destroy himself His own 'worth' (i.e. his heroic nature) is, therefore, that of Hercules but, apart from that, there is no reason why he should not assert it in a passage expressive of rage and resentment, and not of humiliation

48 *young Roman boy*] †The line is hypermetric, and though it is possible to regularize it by a slurring rapidity of delivery, that seems not consonant with the rest of the speech We should perhaps omit *young*, conjecturing that

Shakespeare first wrote *young boy*, then saw that it was redundant, and that *Roman boy* would give a double point (betrayal to one who was both an enemy and a mere boy), wrote in *Roman* but did not make clear his deletion of *young* [R]

Scene XIII

2 *Telamon*] Ajax Telamon, who went mad and slew himself when Ulysses, and not he, was awarded the armour and famous shield of Achilles as bravest of the Greeks Heywood treats the story in *The Iron Age*, pt 1, Act v

boar of Thessaly] The boar—whose 'eies did glister bloud and fire' (Golding, Ovid's *Metam*, bk viii)—sent by Diana in revenge for omitted sacrifices to ravage the territories of the king of Caledon, and slain by his son Meleager, the brother of Deianira The story is one of the themes of Heywood's *Brazen Age*

3 *emboss'd*] a term of the chase, sometimes used merely for 'driven to extremity', sometimes to signify that the quarry showed signs of exhaustion by foaming at the mouth Cf 1 *King Edward IV* (Pearson's *Heywood*, 1 40) 'Dutch Cam'st thou not downe the wood? *Hobs* Yes mistriss, that I did

Char

To the monument,

There lock yourself, and send him word you are dead
 The soul and body rive not more in parting
 Than greatness going off.

5

Cleo

To the monument!

Mardian, go tell him I have slain myself
 Say, that the last I spoke was 'Antony,'
 And word it, prithee, piteously Hence, Mardian,
 And bring me how he takes my death to the
 monument

[Exeunt 10

[SCENE XIV — *The same Another room*]*Enter* ANTONY and EROS

Ant Eros, thou yet behold'st me?

Eros

Ay, noble lord.

Ant Sometime we see a cloud that's dragonish,

10 death to the monument] *F* (to 'th'), death, To the monument! *Pope*

Dutch And sawest thou not the deere
imbost?' with Lyly, *Midas*, iv iii 26
 'Pet There was a boy leasht on the
 single because when he was *imbost*, he
 tooke soyle *Licio* What's that? *Pet*
 Why, a boy was beaten on the taile
 with a leathern thong, because when he
 fomde at the mouth with running, he
 went into the water', and P Fletcher,
 Psalm xli (*Poems*, ed Grosart, iii 248)
 'Look as an hart with sweat and bloud
 embrued / Chas'd and *embost*, thirsts in
 the soil to be' In our text are meant
 the similar tokens of rage The term is
 often applied to animals other than the
 quarry, and to men, in the sense of
 'spent,' 'visibly heated by exertion'
 So in *Str*, Ind 1 17, 'the poor cur is
 emboss'd' and *Albumazar*, v ii 12
 (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xi 406) 'I am
emboss'd / With trotting all the streets
 to find Pandolfo', and *Suetnam the*
Woman Hater (1620), i ii 'Hast thou
 been running for a wager, Sirrah? /
 Thou art horribly *imbost*' While both
 senses at the head of this note are

thought to derive from a verb whose
 primary sense is 'to take shelter in a
 wood,' the second of the two is prob-
 ably influenced by another verb
emboss, to form protuberances, or
 bosses, to which blobs of foam have
 some resemblance See *OED*, s v

3-4 *To the monument*, etc] See
 North, *post*, p 271

5-6 *The soul off*] Malone com-
 pares *H8* [ii iii 12-16] The idea in
 line 5 also occurs in *Arden of Feversham*,
 iii 1 19-20, and Chapman, *Bussy*
D'Ambous, ii ii (Parrott I 564b) 'I
 must utter that / That will in parting
 breake more strings in me, / Than
 death when life parts,' etc

10 † I have, with some hesitation,
 retained *F*'s punctuation It makes
 good sense, but Pope's emendation
 does undoubtedly provide a more
 emphatic exit [R]

Scene xiv

2-7 *Sometime we see*, etc] Several
 passages have been suggested as the

A vapour sometime, like a bear, or lion,
 A tower'd citadel, a pendent rock,
 A forked mountain, or blue promontory 5
 With trees upon 't, that nod unto the world,
 And mock our eyes with air Thou hast seen these signs,
 They are black vesper's pageants

Eros

Ay, my lord

Ant That which is now a horse, even with a thought
 The rack dishlms, and makes it indistinct 10

4 tower'd] *Rowe*, toward *F* 10 dishlms] *Theobald*, dishlms *F*

source of this fancy, but its beautiful and striking use to illustrate man's unstable hold of his very entity seems to occur here only. The passages are Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 346 [in Theobald's version, *The Clouds*, 1715, p 20 'In looking upon the Sky, have you never seen a Cloud resemble a Centaur, a Leopard, a Wolf or a Bull?'] (Sir W. Rawlinson), Holland's Pliny, *Natural History*, II III, where the shapes are of chariot, bear, bull (Steevens), Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive*, II II 91 'our great men / Like to a mass of clouds that now seem like / An elephant, and straightways like an ox, / And then a mouse,' etc (Steevens), where, indeed, as in the text, the dwindling of the great is expressed, Chapman's *Busby D'Ambros*, III I 23-5, where the shapes are dragons, lions, elephants (Malone), *A Treatise of Spectres*, etc, 4to, 1605 'The cloudes sometimes will seem to be monsters, lions, bulls, and wolves, painted and figured albeit nothing but a moyst humour mounted in the ayre,' etc (Malone). I have met with passages anterior to these last in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (1598), *The Imposture* (in 1621 ed., p 186) 'For, as the Air, with scattred clouds bespred, / Is heer and there black, yellow, white and red, / Resembling Armies, Monsters, Mountains, Dragons, / Rocks, fiery Castles, Forrests, Ships, and Wagons, / And such to vs through glass transparent clear / From form to form varying it doth appear' etc, and Fairfax's

Tasso, 1600, bk xvi, st 69 'As oft the clouds frame shapes of castles great / Amid the aire, that little time do last, / But are dissolu'd by winde or Titans heat', etc. Examples later than *Ant* occur in Ford, etc., *The Witch of Edmonton*, V I 15, *The City Nightcap*, IV I (Bullen's *Davenport*, p 150).

8 pageants] The following from Whetstone's 2 *Promos* and *Cassandra*, 1578, I V (Nichols, *Six Old Plays*, 1779, p 65), explains the allusion 'Phallax With what strange shewes doo they their Pageant grace? / Bedell They have Hercules of monsters conquering, / Huge great Giants in a forest fighting, / With Lyons, Beares, Wolves, Apes, Foxes, and Grayes, / Bawards, Brookes, &c' According to Singer, Boswell somewhere (not in 1821 *Variorum*) cites 'the following apposite passage from a sermon by Bishop Hall' 'I feare some of you are like the pageants of your great solemnities, wherein there is a show of a solid body, whether of a lion, or elephant, or unicorn, but if they be curiously look'd into, there is nothing but cloth, and sticks, and ayre' Pageants were originally the movable stages on which Miracle Plays were represented, then the plays themselves, and so moving shows or spectacles in general.

9 even with a thought] as fast as thought So in *Cas*, V III 19 'I will be here again, even with a thought'

10 The rack dishlms] the drifting clouds efface Cf Jonson, *Masque of Hymen* 'Here the upper part of the

As water is in water

Eros

It does, my lord

Ant

My good knave Eros, now thy captain is
 Even such a body here I am Antony,
 Yet cannot hold this visible shape, my knave
 I made these wars for Egypt, and the queen,
 Whose heart I thought I had, for she had mine
 Which whilst it was mine, had annex'd unto't
 A million moe, now lost she, Eros, has
 Pack'd cards with Cæsar, and false-play'd my glory
 Unto an enemy's triumph

15

20

18 moe] *F*, more *Rowe* and many *edd*

19 Cæsar] *Rowe*, Caesars *F*

scene, which was all of clouds and made artificially to swell, and ride like the *rack*, began to open 'etc *Dislunns* reverses *lunns* (i.e. *paints*), and is not found elsewhere till imitated in the nineteenth century See *OED*

12 knave] boy, servant, as often, the former is the original meaning

15 Egypt] Cleopatra So in i iii 41, 78 *ante*, etc

18 moe] more in number, while more referred to degree Originally an adverbial comparative

19 Pack'd Cæsar] ensured good hands for herself and Cæsar by false dealing, i.e. treacherously conspired with Cæsar Cf Cartwright, *The Ordinary*, 1651, II iii, p 28 'For Cards you may without the cut or shuffle, / Or the *packt* trick, have what you will yourself', Southey, *Commonplace Book*, 4th series, 1850, p 275 'The Lady Cheatabell, playing at hunt the Knave out of town, *packed* the cards, and gave herself the Knave of Hearts, being Jack', and for a figurative use, as in the text, *The Parliament of Criticks*, 12mo, 1702, p 16 'The Cards are *pack'd* by Authority, and Dominion turns up what *Trump* it pleases' We still speak of *packing* a jury Thielton observes that 'knave' and 'queen' (lines 14, 15) possibly suggested the metaphor from cards

19-20 false-play'd triumph] Warburton was probably right in seeing in

triumph—as well as the obvious sense—an allusion to the trump card, or *triumph* as it was originally called Cf French *triomphe* Halliwell cites Cotgrave, who has 'Triomphe f The card-game called Ruffe, or Trump, also the Ruffe, or Trump at it' [1660 ed], and Warburton's reference to Latimer's *Sermons on the Card* yields 'The game that we will play at shall be called the *triumph*,' etc (Parker Society ed, p 8) 'Let therefore every christian man and woman play at these cards, that they may have and obtain the *triumph*, you must mark also that the *triumph* must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of' (pp 8-9) Later on he employs 'trump' (pp 12, 13), but so that we may identify it with the triumph, that fetches 'home the other cards', 'Now turn up your trump, your heart (hearts is trump, as I said before), and cast your trump, your heart, on this card', etc The objection of Malone and others that playing false to an *adversary's* trump would be meaningless here, does not hold Cæsar, in Antony's view, is only in *show* Cleopatra's adversary Ostensibly Antony's partner, Cleopatra not only unfairly helps Cæsar to secure good cards, but *false-plays* those in her own power (involving Antony's glory) to encounter them. The form *triumph* occurs in *The Interlude*

Nay, weep not, gentle Eros, there is left us
Ourselves to end ourselves

Enter MARDIAN

O, thy vile lady!

She has robb'd me of my sword

Mar No, Antony
My mistress lov'd thee, and her fortunes mingled
With thine entirely

Ant Hence, saucy eunuch, peace! 25
She hath betray'd me, and shall die the death

Mar Death of one person can be paid but once,
And that she has discharg'd What thou wouldst do
Is done unto thy hand the last she spake
Was 'Antony' most noble Antony! 30
Then in the midst a tearing groan did break
The name of Antony, it was divided
Between her heart, and lips she render'd life
Thy name so buried in her

Ant Dead, then?

Mar Dead

Ant Unarm, Eros, the long day's task is done, 35

35 Unarm] Vnarme F, Unarm me Rowe and many edd

of Youth (Hazlitt's *Dodley*, II 34)
'Also at the cards I can teach you to
play, At the *trump* and one-and-thirty,
Post, pinion, and also aums-ace,' etc
Whiter quotes Jonson, *The Fortunate
Isles*, line 362 'Except the four knaves
entertained for the guards, / Of the
kings and the queens that *trump* in
the cards'

26 *die the death*] See on *Cym*, IV II
96, and *MND*, I I 65, in Arden
Shakespeare

31-4 *Then in the midst*, etc.] The like
of this is cleverly ridiculed by Sheridan
in *The Critic* near the end 'Whisk
And Whiskerandos quits this bustling
scene / For all eter— *Beef* —nity
—he would have added, but stern
death / Cut short his being, and the
noun at once' and cf. *1H4*, V IV
86

35 Unarm] See North, *post*, p 272
Unarm, Eros] † It is one of the curi-
osities of editing that so many editors
(Dover Wilson indeed, though erro-
neously, says 'all editors') have fol-
lowed Rowe in reading *Unarm me*,
Eros, and even more remarkable that
the arguments pro and con have been
almost entirely metrical. The emenda-
tion is, of course, graphically easy, and
the intrusive *me*, though I think it pro-
duces a rhythm less suiting to the
context, is metrically quite defensible
(it is more awkward if we are pro-
nouncing the name as *Ēros* rather than
Ērōs) But it changes the force of An-
tony's words. They are more general
(like the echo, *the bright day is done*, in
V II 192) than a command to unarm
him. He is saying 'All is over, our
"occupation's gone"' [R.]

And we must sleep [*To Mar*] That thou depart'st
hence safe
Does pay thy labour richly, go [*Exit Mardian*
Off, pluck off,

The seven-fold shield of Ajax cannot keep
The battery from my heart O, cleave, my sides!
Heart, once be stronger than thy continent, 40
Crack thy frail case! Apace, Eros, apace!
No more a soldier bruised pieces, go,
You have been nobly borne From me awhile
[*Exit Eros*

I will o'ertake thee, Cleopatra, and
Weep for my pardon So it must be, for now 45
All length is torture since the torch is out,

36 *To Mar*] *Globe, not in F*

38 *seven-fold shield of Ajax*] the shield of brass, backed with seven folds of ox-hide, which defied the lance of Hector (Homer, *Iliad*, vii 222, 245, etc.) 'Six folds th' untamed dart strook through, and in the seventh tough hide / The point was check'd' (see Chapman's *Homer*, 1598, ed R H Shepherd, 1875, pp 95-6) See also Ovid, *Metam*, xiii 2 'The owner of the *seauenfold shield*, to these did Ajax rise' (Golding, ed 1593)

39 *The battery heart*] The sense generally received here is Boswell's 'the battery proceeding from my heart, which is strong enough to break through the seven-fold shield of Ajax,' which depends on the ensuing 'O cleave,' etc. However probable, it is, nevertheless, as I think, unconvincing. The sense of oppression from the heart's agitation would explain 'Off, pluck off' if it stood alone, but it is natural to suppose it repeats the thought in 'Unarm, Eros,' etc., line 35, the source of which is entirely different. If that be so, it is as safe to interpret 'No external arms—even the strongest—can defend me from the assault of such a calamity as this,' regarding line 35 and disregarding line 39 ('O cleave,'

etc.), as to regard the latter and disregard the former with Boswell. Cf Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedie*, i iii 57 'My hart growne hard gamst mischiefs battery' A shield, moreover, is not so placed as to curb inward batteries. We should rather expect a reference to armour, as in i i 6-8 *ante*, and Marston, *i Antonio and Mellida*, v i 311, where Andrugio, entering 'in armour', says 'And twere not hoopt with steele, my brest wold break'

40-1 *Heart case*] For this appeal, cf *Lr*, ii iv 200 'O sides, you are too tough' †Antony is not asking his heart to break (as in *Lr*, v iii 314) but to have for once the strength to break out into freedom from the confining body [R]

40 *thy continent*] what contains thee. So *Lr*, iii ii 57 'close pent-up gullets / Rive your concealing continents,' etc. Sandys, *A Paraphrase*, etc., 1638, *Job*, chap xxxii, p 41 'My Bowels boyle like wine that hath no vent, / Ready to breake the swelling Continent'

46 *length*] i.e. of time or life, duration. So in *R2*, v i 94 'there is such length in grief,' etc.

torch] i.e. the light of his life's travel, Cleopatra

Lie down and stray no farther Now all labour
 Mars what it does yea, very force entangles
 Itself with strength seal then, and all is done
 Eros!—I come, my queen —Eros!—Stay for me, 50
 Where souls do couch on flowers, we'll hand in hand,
 And with our sprightly port make the ghosts gaze
 Dido, and her Æneas, shall want troops,
 And all the haunt be ours Come, Eros, Eros!

Re-enter EROS

Eros What would my lord?
Ant Since Cleopatra died, 55
 I have liv'd in such dishonour that the gods
 Detest my baseness I, that with my sword
 Quarter'd the world, and o'er green Neptune's back
 With ships made cities, condemn myself, to lack
 The courage of a woman, less noble mind 60

48-9 *very force strength*] even the power of strength serves only to embarrass it Dover Wilson well compares *Sonn* xxiii, lines 3-4, 7-8

49 *seal then, etc*] For the metaphor from sealing and thus completing agreements, cf *H5*, iv vi 26, *Ham*, iii ii 41, Daniel, *Cleopatra*, iv, line 1024 (*Works*, ed Grosart, vol iii) 'My blood must *seal* th' assurance of his state'

51 *Where souls flowers, etc*] So in a delightful passage depicting 'deaths Ioyes' in *Nero*, 1624, iv [Scene vii] (Bullen's *Old Plays*, i 81) 'Mingled with that faire company shall we / On bankes of *Violets* and of *Huacincths*, / Of loves devising, sit and gently sport', etc With *couch*, cf *Ado*, iii i 45 'as fortunate a bed, / As ever Beatrice shall *couch* upon'

52 *sprightly*] high spirited, full of vitality—stronger and more dignified than our 'spritely' Cf iv vii 15 *ante*

53 *Dido, and her Æneas*] Successive commentators tell us that Shakespeare forgot that Virgil (*Æneid*, vi 467-74) consorts Dido with her husband, Sichæus, in Hades, and makes her

repel Æneas during his visit to the shades But Shakespeare was not likely, any more than others, to uncouple a famous pair of lovers for a pedantic scruple Theobald long ago quoted the jailor's daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, iv iii 16 'For in the next world will *Dido* see *Palamon*, and then will she be out of love with *Æneas*' The ingenious author of *Nero*, in the passage quoted in the last note, even reconciles Lucrece and Tarquin in Elysium, and Thomas May, *Antony and Cleopatra*, v 1639, sig D12, makes Antony say 'I'll follow thee, / And beg thy pardon in the other world / All crimes are there for evermore forgot / There *Ariadne* pardons *Theseus* falsehood, / *Dido* forgives the perjurd Prince of Troy, / And *Troilus* repentant *Cressida*'

54 *all the haunt be ours*] not 'we shall possess all the region,' but 'we shall be the people run after'

Re-enter Eros] For the rest of the scene, cf North, *post*, p 272

60 *less noble mind*] probably in apposition with *I*, line 57, in which case there is scarcely need to suppose any

Than she which by her death our Cæsar tells
 'I am conqueror of myself' Thou art sworn, Eros,
 That when the exigent should come, which now
 Is come indeed when I should see behind me
 The inevitable prosecution of 65
 Disgrace and horror, that, on my command,
 Thou then wouldst kill me Do't, the time is come
 Thou strik'st not me, 'tis Cæsar thou defeat'st
 Put colour in thy cheek

Eros The gods withhold me,
 Shall I do that which all the Parthian darts, 70
 Though enemy, lost aim, and could not?

Ant Eros,
 Wouldst thou be window'd in great Rome, and see
 Thy master thus with pleach'd arms, bending down
 His corrigitible neck, his face subdued
 To penetrative shame, whilst the wheel'd seat 75

ellipse, as is usual if it be made to depend on *condemn myself* or to lack Rowe, Pope, Dyce, for *mind* read *minded*, but the corresponding passage in North supports the noun See *post*, p 272 Malone, comparing, e.g. *Wint*, III II 55-8, supposes an inaccurate use of *less* after to *lack*, making Antony say 'that he is *destitute of a less noble mind* than Cleopatra,' when he meant to 'acknowledge he has a less noble mind than she'

63 *exigent*] exigency, emergency Cf *Cæs*, v 1 19, Sidney's *Arcadia*, bk II (ed 1725, I 169) 'Now was *Zelmane* brought to an *exigent*,' etc

65 *inevitable prosecution*] pursuit admitting no escape For *inevitable*, cf S Marmion, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1637 (repr 1820, p 72) 'What darkness can protect me? what disguise / Hide me from her *inevitable eyes*'

68 *defeat'st*] frustratest Cf v 1 65 *post* Some—I think unnecessarily—explain by *destroyest*, comparing such passages as *Oth*, IV II 160 'And his unkindness may *defeat* my life'

71 *enemy*] here an adjective as in *Cor*, IV IV 24 'This *enemy* town',

Lr, v III 222 'Follow'd his *enemy* king'

73 *pleach'd*] folded or intertwined Cf *Ado*, I II 12 'a thick-*pleached* alley', III I 7 'the *pleached* bower,' etc Delius suggests that Antony thus indicates the together-bound arms of a captive With the whole passage Steevens compares Kyd, *Cornelia*, III II 12-15 'Now shalt thou march (thy hands fast bound behind thee), / Thy head hung downe, thy cheeks with teares besprent, / Before the victor, While thy rebell sonne, / With crowned front, tryumphing followes thee' In this passage, unlike that in the text, the proper order of captives ('Before the victor') in a Roman triumph is observed

74 *corrigitible*] 'submissive to correction' OED cites 1583, Babington, *Commandm*, III (1637), 28 'If hee be *corrigitible*, not euen in the Lords cause should I curse my brother' It is used in an active sense = 'corrective' in *Oth*, I III 330

75 *penetrative*] penetrating Not elsewhere in Shakespeare The *Century Dict* cites Sir T Elyot, *Castile of Health*, II 'The rayne water if it be re-

Of fortunate Cæsar, drawn before him, branded
His baseness that ensued ?

Eros I would not see't

Ant Come then for with a wound I must be cur'd,
Draw that thy honest sword, which thou hast worn
Most useful for thy country

Eros O, sir, pardon me! 80

Ant When I did make thee free, swor'st thou not then
To do this when I bade thee ? Do it at once,
Or thy precedent services are all
But accidents unpurpos'd Draw, and come

Eros Turn from me then that noble countenance, 85
Wherein the worship of the whole world lies

Ant Lo thee! [Turning from him

Eros My sword is drawn

Ant Then let it do at once

The thing why thou hast drawn it

Eros My dear master,
My captain, and my emperor let me say 90
Before I strike this bloody stroke, farewell

Ant 'Tis said, man, and farewell

Eros Farewell, great chief Shall I strike now ?

Ant Now, Eros

Eros Why, there then thus I do escape the sorrow
Of Antony's death [Kills himself

Ant Thrice-nobler than myself, 95

Thou teachest me, O valiant Eros, what
I should, and thou couldst not, my queen and Eros

87 *Turning*] *Rowe, not in F* 95 *Kills*] *Opposite Eros, line 93, in F*

ceyed pure and cleane, it is most
subtlyl and *penetrative* of any other
waters', Sir H. Wotton, *Reliquæ Wot-*
tonianæ [1672], p. 7 'the Aire
That it be not too gross, nor too
penetrative'

76-7 *branded* *ensued*] rendered
conspicuous, as by a brand, the abject
condition of him who followed With
ensued, cf. Queen Elizabeth, *Translation*
out of *Seneca, Nuge Antiquæ* (1769), 1
137 'The cleare daies followes the

darck cloudes, the rowghest seas *insues*
the greatest calmes'

81 *swor'st thou not*, etc.] Cf the
inferior scene between Cassius and
Pindarus in *Cæs.* v. iii. 36-50

86 *worship* *world*] that majesty
which the whole world reveres as a
god's Johnson's 'dignity, authority',
scarcely give the force of *worship*
here

87 *Lo thee*] So in *H8*, i. i. 202 'Lo,
you, my lord,' etc

Have by their brave instruction got upon me
 A nobleness in record But I will be
 A bridegroom in my death, and run into't 100
 As to a lover's bed Come, then, and, Eros,
 Thy master dies thy scholar, to do thus
 [Falling on his sword
 I learnt of thee How, not dead? not dead?
 The guard, ho! O, despatch me!]

Enter a Guard, DECRETAS following them

First Guard What's the noise?
Ant I have done my work ill, friends O make an end 105
 Of what I have begun
Sec Guard The star is fall'n
First Guard And time is at his period
All Alas, and woe!
Ant Let him that loves me, strike me dead
First Guard Not I
Sec Guard Nor I

102 S D *Falling*] *Rowe, not in F*
Enter] *Enter a Guard F See note*

104 ho!] *Theobald, how? F* S D

98-9 *Have record*] have, as my tutors in courage, or, by teaching me a lesson in bravery, won for themselves [from me] a noble place in story Perhaps 'got upon me' would justify the comparative, 'a nobler place' Rolfe's 'forestalled me in gaining' is a very attractive explanation, for which he compares 'win upon me' in II iv 9 *ante* But the case does not strike me as parallel, and I should rather compare Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 470 'all these boasted trophies won on me'

104 *ho*] The F spelling (*how* for *ho*) is frequent Cf I ii 110 *ante*, and 'Peace, *how*, peace! I charge you, keep the peace!' (*Sir Thomas More*, p 25, Shakes Society, 1844), on which Dyce comments 'One of a hundred passages in old plays, which shew how improperly the two latest editors [Knight and Collier] of Shakespeare

have followed the folios in printing, "The guard!—*how*?" *Ant*, act iv sc 12'

S D *Enter*] †F has only *Enter a Guard* We clearly have to get Decretas on at some point, and the usual method has been to give 'Enter Decretas (or Dercetas or Dercetus) and Guard' but that rather suggests that he is in command of the guard, which he pretty clearly is not We can bring him in after the guard's exit at line 110, but that makes his first speech abrupt—he needs a short while in which to take in the situation I suggest therefore that he comes in behind the guard (like Enobarbus in iv viii), and watches and listens [R]

Decretas] for the variations in this character's name, see note on v 1 3 *post*

107 *period*] end, full stop, as in iv ii 25 *ante*

Third Guard Nor any one [*Exeunt Guard* 110

Dec Thy death and fortunes bid thy followers fly
This sword but shown to Cæsar with this tidings,
Shall enter me with him

Enter DIOMEDES

Dio Where's Antony?

Dec. There, Diomed, there

Dio Lives he?

Wilt thou not answer, man? [*Exit Decretas* 115

Ant Art thou there, Diomed? Draw thy sword, and give me
Sufficing strokes for death

Dio Most absolute lord,

My mistress Cleopatra sent me to thee

Ant When did she send thee?

Dio Now, my lord,

Ant Where is she?

Dio Lock'd in her monument, she had a prophesying fear
Of what hath come to pass for when she saw— 121
Which never shall be found—you did suspect
She had dispos'd with Cæsar, and that your rage
Would not be purg'd, she sent you word she was dead,
But fearing since how it might work, hath sent 125
Me to proclaim the truth, and I am come,
I dread, too late

Ant Too late, good Diomed call my guard, I prithee

Dio What ho, the emperor's guard, the guard, what ho!
Come, your lord calls 130

Enter four or five of the Guard of ANTONY

Ant Bear me, good friends, where Cleopatra bides,
'Tis the last service what I shall command you

First Guard Woe, woe are we, sir, you may not live to wear

110 *Exeunt Guard*] *Pope*, *Exeunt F* 111 *Dec*] *Decretus F* 114 *Dec*] *Decre F* 115 *Exit Decretas*] *no exit in F*

114] Dover Wilson adds a good stage-direction for Decretas, *hiding the sword in his cloak*

123 *dispos'd*] made arrangements or dispositions, came to terms This is

the only example of this sense in *OED*
124 *purg'd*] expelled [by assertions of innocence] See on 1 iii 53 *ante*
The figure is perhaps continued in *work*, next line

All your true followers out

All Most heavy day!

Ant Nay, good my fellows, do not please sharp fate 135
To grace it with your sorrows bid that welcome
Which comes to punish us, and we punish it
Seeming to bear it lightly Take me up,
I have led you oft, carry me now, good friends,
And have my thanks for all [*Exeunt, bearing Antony* 140

[SCENE XV — *The same A monument*]

*Enter CLEOPATRA and her maids aloft, with CHARMIAN
and IRAS*

Cleo O Charmian, I will never go from hence

Char Be comforted, dear madam

Cleo No, I will not

All strange and terrible events are welcome,
But comforts we despise, our size of sorrow,
Proportion'd to our cause, must be as great 5
As that which makes it

Enter, below, DIOMEDES

How now? is he dead?

Dio His death's upon him, but not dead

Look out o' the other side your monument,

Scene xv

6 S D *Enter*] *Collier, Enter Diomed F*

136 *To grace*] a gerund = by gracing So in *R2*, II ii 95 'But I shall grieve you to report the rest' See Abbott (*Shakespearean Grammar*, §356)

bid] the not uncommon imperative conditional—'if we bid we punish it'

Scene xv

[See North, *post*, pp 272-3, and for the staging see Appendix IV]

S D aloft] i.e. to the balcony at the rear, which was a special feature of the old stage A well-known sketch of

the interior of the Swan Theatre in 1596 (?) by a Dutch traveller, reproduced in Mr Ordish's *Early London Theatres* and *Shakespeare's London*, represents it as a sort of stage box divided by five pillars, occupying the length of the tiring house—at some height above its doors—at the back of the stage

7] Steevens thought that respect for the questioner, as well as metre, necessitated the insertion of *madam* after *him*, Keightley reads 'but *he* is not dead'

His guard have brought him thither

Enter, below, ANTONY, borne by the Guard

Cleo

O sun,

Burn the great sphere thou mov'st in, darkling stand 10
The varying shore o' the world O Antony,
Antony, Antony! Help, Charmian, help, Iras, help
Help, friends below, let's draw him hither

9 S D *Enter*] *Collier, Enter Anthony, and the Guard F*

10-11 *Burn the great sphere world*] See on II vii 14-16 *ante* In the system there described, 'the sun was a planet, and was whirled round the earth by the motion of a solid sphere in which it was fixed — If the sun therefore was to set fire to the sphere, so as to consume it, the consequence must be, that itself, for want of support, must drop through, and wander in endless space, and in this case the earth would be involved in endless night' (Heath) For *darkling*, i.e. in darkness, cf *Lr*, I iv 240 Warburton explains *The varying shore o' the world* as the shore 'of the earth, where light and darkness made an incessant variation' Hudson applauds and adopts a conjecture of Staunton's (*Athenaeum*, 1873) of *star* (*starre*) for *shore*, making 'the varying star' = the changing moon He observes that Shakespeare uses *star*, with some epithet, such as *moist* or *watery*, for the moon, but that is not the same thing as calling it 'the varying star o' the world' If 'darkling stand,' etc. is a consequence, Cleopatra would make it apply to the orb that held herself and Antony rather than to the moon

12-13 *Help hither*] † Dover Wilson regards this line and a half as 'indubitable interpolation', in the region of conjecture, 'indubitable' is an unduly positive word, against which a reader rightly reacts unfavourably, but he makes a strong case (see pp 128-30 of his edition) If the words stand here, then lines 30-1 are awkwardly repetitive, whereas they are

effective if they propose, for the first time, the drawing of Antony up as the alternative to Cleopatra coming down Further, Antony's *Peace!* at the end of line 13 follows more naturally on Cleopatra's repeated *Antony!* if nothing else intervenes Dover Wilson accounts for the 'interpolation' by assuming that the passage originally ran as we have it, but without this line and a half, and that then a proposed cut was indicated from line 13, *Peace!* to line 31, *good friends* but the cutter, finding that he had now no text left to correspond to the drawing up of Antony, wrote in the substance of lines 30-1 at lines 12-13 in a version of his own (It is just worth remark that Cleopatra's triple *Antony!* in lines 11-12 is all in one line in F, so that *Help, Charmian* starts a new line) The weakness of the argument (unless I misunderstand the details of it) is that it posits an unskilful, and even silly, cutter, who gave himself more trouble than there was any need for Why did he not simply stop his cut at the end of line 29 (*Antony*), and relieve himself of the job of rewriting Shakespeare for the insertion at line 12? But there is another possibility, which is, I think, more likely, namely, that Shakespeare, having brought Antony in, and written Cleopatra's impassioned greeting (line 9, *O sun* down to the third *Antony* in line 12), first intended to have Antony immediately hoisted up, and wrote the appropriate lines for Cleopatra, that he then saw the advantages of a brief

Ant

Peace!

Not Cæsar's valour hath o'erthrown Antony,
But Antony's hath triumph'd on itself

15

Cleo

So it should be, that none but Antony
Should conquer Antony, but woe 'tis so!

Ant

I am dying, Egypt, dying, only
I here importune death awhile, until
Of many thousand kisses, the poor last
I lay upon thy lips

20

Cleo

I dare not, dear,
Dear my lord, pardon I dare not,
Lest I be taken not the imperious show
Of the full-fortun'd Cæsar ever shall
Be brooch'd with me, if knife, drugs, serpents, have

25

22 dare not] *F*, dare not descend *Malone*, dare not open *D Wilson*

interchange before the hoisting up, and wrote lines 13 (*Peace!*)—31 (*good friends*), and that either he forgot to delete the now worse than unwanted *Help, Charmian* *luther*, or his indications of deletion were neglected (Something of the same kind almost certainly happened in *LLL*, IV III, where a speech of twenty-two lines (296–317) is immediately followed by an elaborated version of the same speech (318–54), where it is reasonable to assume that the deletion of the first version was either forgotten or neglected) We shall still need the cutter to account for the repetition of Antony's *I am dying, Egypt, dying* (if we are determined to be rid of its second occurrence—see note on line 41 below), but at least he need no longer be a fool [R]

16–17 *that none* *Antony*] Cf Ovid, *Metam*, XIII 390 'That none may Ajax overcome save Ajax' (Golding's Ovid), and *Cæs*, V V 56

19 *importune death awhile*] *importune* seems to be used with much latitude here Johnson explains 'I *solicit* death to delay or I trouble death by keeping him in waiting'

22 *dare not*] † The line halts and

though completion is not essential the sense is improved if Cleopatra makes plain what it is she 'dare not,' and *Malone's descend* is as easy an addition as any But I am not sure that the improvement in sense, and metre, is not bought with a loss in effectiveness There is a compression, or ellipse, in Cleopatra's words as they stand it is not that she dare not take his last kiss—though that is what she says—but that even for that she dare not come down [R]

25 *brooch'd*] adorned, a brooch being always an ornament, as Ritson observes Cf *Ham*, IV VII 93 'he is the brooch indeed / And gem of all the nation' Steevens cites Jonson, *The Staple of News*, III II 265 'The very brooch o' the bench, gem o' the city', *The Magnetic Lady*, I VII 33 'The brooch to any true state cap in Europe' In the last passage, the brooch is the last of several ornaments, to which 'the jewel / Of all the court, close Master Bias' is compared, and the prevailing mode of wearing a brooch in the front of the cap or hat is alluded to, as also in *The Poetaster*, I II 161 'honour's a good brooch to wear in a man's hat, at all times'

Edge, sting, or operation I am safe
 Your wife Octavia, with her modest eyes,
 And still conclusion, shall acquire no honour
 Demuring upon me but come, come, Antony,—
 Help me, my women,—we must draw thee up 30
 Assist, good friends

Ant O quick, or I am gone
Cleo Here's sport indeed! How heavy weighs my lord!
 Our strength is all gone into heaviness,
 That makes the weight Had I great Juno's power,
 The strong-wing'd Mercury should fetch thee up, 35
 And set thee by Jove's side Yet come a little,
 Wishers were ever fools, O, come, come, come
 [They heave Antony aloft to Cleopatra
 And welcome, welcome! Die when thou hast liv'd,
 Quicken with kissing had my lips that power,

33 heaviness,] *F*, heaviness, *Cambridge edd* 38 when] *F*, where *Pope*

26 *sting, or operation*] Hanmer reads *operation, or sting* to correspond in order with *drugs, serpents*, but for disregard of such nicety, cf *Ham*, III i 160

28 *still conclusion*] composed and silent censure, quiet formation of opinion The idea seems to be one of disapproval following on inspection, instinctively felt by its object, maugre silence and 'modest eyes' or demure looks Cf v ii 54 *post*

29 *Demuring upon me*] looking demurely upon me, with an air of innocence *Demuring* is not found elsewhere It is just possible that it may be from *demur* (see *OED demur*), and thus used to indicate the leisurely consideration of Octavia, the deliberation, as of one doubtful, with which she would appear to draw her conclusions Cf Sir John Harington, *Epigrams* (ed 1633, bk 1 37) 'Once, by mishap, two Poets fell a squaring, / The Sonnet and our Epigram comparing, / And *Faustus* having long *demur'd* upon it, / Yet at the last gave sentence for the Sonnet,' etc

32 *Here's sport indeed*] The grim humour of this exclamation was lost on

Johnson, who took it for a rebuke of trifling efforts! and others have positively suggested emendations Possibly, as Malone suggests, there is a thought of their former fishing diversions Cf II v 13-15 *ante* 'and, as I draw them up, / I'll think them every one an Antony, / And say, "Ah, ha! you're caught"'

33 *heaviness*] Malone 'equivocally for sorrow and weight' See the passages cited on IV vi 36 *ante* Cf for the thought, Daniel, *Cleopatra*, 1607 (*Works*, ed Grosart, III 8) 'Whose surcharg'd heart more then her body wayes'

37 *Wishers fools*] This sounds like a proverb In Ray's collection occurs, 'Wishers and woulers are never good householders'

38 *when*] † Few commentators (Rowe and Dover Wilson among them) have adhered to *F*'s *when*, but I think they are right The sense is then 'live once more before you die,' and a point, otherwise awkwardly lacking, is given to *Quicken with kissing* [R.]

39 *Quicken*] gain life or vitality Cf *Oth*, III iii 277

Thus would I wear them out

All A heavy sight! 40

Ant I am dying, Egypt, dying
Give me some wine, and let me speak a little

Cleo No, let me speak, and let me rail so high,
That the false huswife Fortune break her wheel,
Provok'd by my offence

Ant One word, sweet queen 45
Of Cæsar seek your honour, with your safety O!

Cleo They do not go together

Ant Gentle, hear me,
None about Cæsar trust but Proculeius

Cleo My resolution, and my hands, I'll trust,
None about Cæsar 50

Ant The miserable change now at my end
Lament nor sorrow at but please your thoughts
In feeding them with those my former fortunes
Wherein I liv'd the greatest prince o' the world,

54 liv'd the] lived The *F*, liv'd the *Theobald*

40 *A heavy*] †perhaps *Ah, heavy*
(Rowe emends to *Oh*) [R]

41 *I am dying, Egypt, dying*] †This also Dover Wilson regards as an interpolation (see note to lines 12-13 of this scene), arguing that the cutter, feeling that he had left Antony's dying condition insufficiently stressed, lifted a significant phrase from the cut (line 18) and inserted it. If one accepts the general hypothesis of the cut, this seems convincing. The exact repetition of the famous phrase weakens it, and further, the lines which follow its first occurrence are so immeasurably more effective than those which follow its second [R]

44 *huswife*] Here, as often, *huswife* has a bad sense jilt, wanton, etc Cf *H5*, v 1 85 'Doth Fortune play the *huswife* with me now?' *Huswurie* is similarly used, e.g. mistrust in husbands is said to 'plante newe trickes of *huswurie* in their wiues consciences' (*Tell-Trothes New-years Gift*, 1593, New Shakespeare Soc., 1876, p. 22)

In this speech, lines 43-5, Cleopatra seems to strike a false note. The tone of line 44, which Johnson calls 'this despicable line,' is in keeping with *ATL*, i ii 34, here it savours of uncouth early dramas

†But perhaps Shakespeare knew better than his editors how men and women talk under stress of Malcolm's surprising 'O by whom?' in *Mac*, ii iii 107 [R]

54-7 *liv'd countryman*] F's full-stops are disconcerting to the modern reader, since they are syntactically very awkward, and he is used to syntactical punctuation. They may, of course, be mere blunders, and many editors have emended them. But they may, I think more probably, come from the original, and if so, the colons of the present text (lightening F's colon after *noblest*, to maintain the distinction in length of pause) perhaps come as near as modern notation will permit to representing Shakespeare's intention without undue distraction to

The noblest, and do now not basely die, 55
 Not cowardly put off my helmet to
 My countryman a Roman, by a Roman
 Valiantly vanquish'd Now my spirit is going,
 I can no more

Cleo Noblest of men, woo't die? 60
 Hast thou no care of me, shall I abide
 In this dull world, which in thy absence is
 No better than a sty? O, see, my women
 The crown o' the earth doth melt [*Antony dies*]
 My lord?
 O, wither'd is the garland of the war,
 The soldier's pole is fall'n young boys and girls 65
 Are level now with men the odds is gone,
 And there is nothing left remarkable

63 *Antony dies*] *Capell*, after women, line 62, *Rowe* after more, line 59, not in *F*

the reader Antony is, literally, at the last gasp, and his utterance is broken, with heavy pauses

56-8 *Not cowardly put*, etc.] See North, *post*, p. 273 Rowe placed a comma after *cowardly* with *F*₄, thus connecting it with *dies*, and changed *not to nor* This is defensible, but surely those who, with Pope, read *Nor cowardly put off* weaken the connection of the negative with *cowardly* to which alone it applies and not to *put off*, etc

59 *woo't*] See on *rv* 11 7 *ante*

63 *crown*] Cf. next note, and see on *rv* xii 27 *ante*

SD] †I have inserted the usual *SD* for Antony's death, though at a place slightly later than the usual But I am not clear that we should not do better to follow *F* and dispense with it altogether Antony's death occurs, presumably, somewhere between Cleopatra's 'woo't die?' and her 'O, wither'd', and the precise instant of it matters very little [*R*]

64 *garland of the war*] Cf. *Cor*, 1 1 189 'And call Him vile that was your *garland*', Quarles, *Argalus and Parthena*, bk 1 (ed. 1701, p. 35) 'he

that is the crown / Of prized virtue, honour and renown, / The flower of Arts, the *Cyprian* living story, / *Arcadia's* *Garland*, and great *Greece's* glory'

†But surely, as Deighton and Furness saw, there is a suggestion of the maypole [*R*]

65 *pole*] perhaps standard, which the aptitude of the metaphor supports Boswell gets the credit of the suggestion, really Beckett's (*Concordance*, 1787, p. 445) Schmidt and the Temple and Eversley editors explain by 'lodestar', and, certainly, the second guard in *rv* xiv 106 *ante* says 'The star is fall'n,' while the use of *pole* in simile or metaphor is common Cf. Richard James (1592-1638), *Poems*, ed. Grosart, 1880, p. 124 'Thus [i.e. Faith and True Religion] was the *Pole*, the Pillar, and the light,' etc

66 *the odds is gone*] There is no distinction left between great and small, cf. *Trout*, iii 23-8, 83-126, and *No-body and Some-body*, lines 107-8 (Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, 1 281) 'if your highness note his leg and mine, there is *ods*, and for a foot, I dare compare'

67 *remarkable*] Staunton receives

Beneath the visiting moon

[Faints

Char O quietness, lady!

Iras She's dead too, our sovereign

Char Lady!

Iras Madam!

Char O madam, madam, madam!

Iras Royal Egypt 70

Empress! [Cleopatra stirs

Char Peace, peace, Iras!

Cleo No more but e'en a woman, and commanded

By such poor passion as the maid that milks,
And does the meanest chares It were for me 75To throw my sceptre at the injurious gods,
To tell them that this world did equal theirs,
Till they had stol'n our jewel All's but naught68 Faints] *She Faints Rowe, not in F*
not in F 73 e'en] *Johnson, in F*71 Cleopatra stirs] *D Wilson (she stirs),*

credit for observing that this word had, when this play was written, a more impressive sense, far worthier of the occasion, than the present one of merely 'observable or noteworthy,' but he had the remark from Gifford. See the latter's *Massinger*, 1805, i 157, note on *The Unnatural Combat*, ii 1. Malone compares with lines 66-8, *Mac*, ii iii 99-103 'from this instant / There's nothing serious in mortality', etc.

69-73] † There are various small points in these lines. Rowe's S D is clearly justified, since otherwise there is no point of reference for Iras' first speech, and so is Wilson's, as the occasion for Charmian's *Peace, peace, Iras!* (if that should be hers). I think that Charmian's *O quietness* is addressed to Iras, and her *Lady!* to Cleopatra, like her own and Iras' subsequent exclamations, and I have punctuated accordingly. I think that Cleopatra's *No more but e'en a woman* is a correction of Iras' *Empress!*, and if so Charmian's *Peace, peace, Iras!* must be given as a rapid aside. But it is very tempting to attribute the words to Cleopatra her-

self, comparing her *Peace, peace!* at v ii 307 *post*, where also the words check an excited address [R].

73 *No more but e'en a woman*] As Malone observes, this responds to the words of Iras, without noticing those of Charmian. But is the sense, as he takes it—placing with most editors (Johnson's conjecture) a comma after *more*—No more (i.e. no longer) an empress, but just a woman, or merely No more than just a woman, as Hudson evidently interprets? One can only be guided here by an instinctive preference, and specious as the first explanation is, my impulse is to read with Hudson, as in the text above. The words seem to me not so much an answer to Iras, as the outcome of a train of thought suggested by Iras.

e'en] † In support of Johnson's emendation, cf F's frequent *bin* for *been* [R].

75 *chares*] tasks. A *char* or *chare* is a turn, and hence, a turn of work. Cf *char-woman*. The word is used by Shakespeare only in this play but was very common in his time. See Peele, *Edward I*, vi 119 'Why, so, this *chare* is chared', (again in v ii 230 *post*).

Patience is sottish, and impatience does
 Become a dog that's mad then is it sin, 80
 To rush into the secret house of death,
 Ere death dare come to us? How do you, women?
 What, what, good cheer! Why, how now, Charmian?
 My noble girls! Ah, women, women Look,
 Our lamp is spent, it's out Good sirs, take heart, 85
 We'll bury him and then, what's brave, what's noble,
 Let's do it after the high Roman fashion,
 And make death proud to take us Come, away,
 This case of that huge spirit now is cold
 Ah, women, women! come, we have no friend 90
 But resolution, and the briefest end

[*Exeunt, those above bearing off Antony's body*]

83 what, good cheer!] what good cheere? *F* 87 do it] *Pope*, doo't *F*
 91 *SD Exeunt*] *Capell* (*substantially*), *Exeunt, bearing of Anthonies body F*

79 *sottish*] foolish, mere stupidity
 Not elsewhere in Shakespeare, but
 common, so in *The Epistle Dedicatory*,
Murrou for Magistrates, 1587
 'not cou'ted wise, righteous, and constant,
 but *sottish*, rude and desperate'
 79-80 *does Become*] is characteristic
 of

85 *Our lamp*] one of the many
 echoes of which the play is full, cf the
 preceding scene, line 46, *the torch is out*
Good sirs] to the women Cf *Surrah*

Iras, v ii 228 *post*, and *Whetstone*,
1 Promos and Cassandra, iv vii 6
 'Grumball kysse me for acquaint-
 taunce / *Dalia* If I lyke your man-
 hoode, I may do so perchaunce / [*She*
faynes to looke in his basket *Grumball* Bate
 me an ase, quoth *Boulton* Tush your
 minde I know / Ah *Syr*, you would,
 belike, let my cocke sparrowes goe'
Dyce quotes examples from *Beaumont*
 and *Fletcher*, *A King and no King*, ii 1
 250, *Philaster*, iv iii 54

ACT V

[SCENE I—*Alexandria Cæsar's camp*]

Enter CÆSAR, AGRIPPA, DOLABELLA, MÆCENAS, GALLUS, PROCULEIUS, and others, his council of war

Cæs Go to him, Dolabella, bid him yield
Being so frustrate, tell him, he mocks
The pauses that he makes

Dol Cæsar, I shall [Exit

Enter DECRETAS, with the sword of ANTONY

ACT V

Scene 1

S D *Enter*] *Globe, Enter Cæsar, Agrippa, Dolabella, Menas, with his Counsell of*
Warre F 3 *Exit*] *not in F*

[*Scene 1* See North, *post*, pp 273-4]

S D *Enter Mæcenas*] Theobald (Thirlby conj) first substituted *Mæcenas* for *Menas* of F, pointing out not only that the speeches of the character are marked *Mec* in the margin, but also that though when Menas died he was a partisan of Cæsar, his death occurred five years before Antony's own

2 *frustrate*] baffled So *Tp*, III III
10 'Our *frustrate* search on land' Perhaps pronounced as a trisyllable Compare *mustress*, II v 27 *ante*

2-3 *he mocks makes*] his delays are mere mockery Steevens suggested this very probable sense, which seems capable of being deduced from the text I can imagine a phrase 'to mock pauses' as equivalent to 'to make mocking pauses,' i.e. pauses mocking either the maker or another, according

to the sense required by the context, and perhaps 'to mock' here is a condensation for something like 'to make ineffectually', or 'to make ridiculously' Malone evaded the difficulty by reading '*mocks us by*'

† Cæsar's meaning is, I think, plain (and Malone therefore is on the wrong tack) 'tell him his pauses—i.e. his shifts, evasions, attempts to postpone the moment of surrender—are idle,' which is substantially Case's interpretation, but not very easy to elicit from the text as it stands [R]

3 S D *Decretas*] † I do not know that it matters much what we call this unimportant character, but I think that Dover Wilson's note about him merits a moment's consideration He says 'I follow Shakespeare and read "Decretus," which is the form he gives to Plutarch-North's "Dercetæus" at

Cæs Wherefore is that? and what art thou that dar'st
Appear thus to us?

Dec I am call'd Decretas, 5
Mark Antony I serv'd, who best was worthy
Best to be serv'd whilst he stood up, and spoke,
He was my master, and I wore my life
To spend upon his haters If thou please
To take me to thee, as I was to him 10
I'll be to Cæsar, if thou pleasest not,
I yield thee up my life

Cæs What is't thou say'st?

Dec I say, O Cæsar, Antony is dead

Cæs The breaking of so great a thing should make 15
A greater crack The round world
Should have shook lions into civil streets,
And citizens to their dens The death of Antony
Is not a single doom, in the name lay
A moiety of the world

Dec He is dead, Cæsar, 20
Not by a public minister of justice,
Nor by a hired knife, but that self hand
Which writ his honour in the acts it did,

4 111, and not like Pope and later editors "Dercetas," which lies half way between North and the spelling "Decretas" that crops up in F at 5 1 3 (S D) and 5 1 5, and is in fact the sort of conflation that pre-Pollardian editors loved. I think this is somewhat misleading. The facts are these: the name occurs in full three times, once in a speech-heading (iv xiv 111) as Dercetus, once in a stage-direction (v 1 3) as Decretas, and once in the text (v 1 5) also as Decretas, an abbreviated form occurs four times, at iv xiv 114 (Decre) and v 1 5, 13, 19 (Dec). Admittedly a confusion between the two forms of the name would be easy enough, but I think that we are more likely to be 'following Shakespeare' if we accept the 6-1 majority of F in favour of Decretas [R]

5 *thus*] i.e. as Delius observes, with a naked, bloody sword

6-7 *who best serv'd*] Cf Thidias on Cæsar, III xiii 87-8 *ante*

15] An omission has been generally suspected here, and made the subject of many conjectures. Steevens suggested 'A greater crack than this the ruin'd world'. As the sense is plain, may not the short line have been intentional? a pause here would be natural and impressive. For the thought, cf *Cæs*, I iii 3-4, 20-2

19 *moiety*] half, the strict sense of the word, as in *All's W*, III ii 69. Often merely = share, portion, as in *Lr*, I i 7

21 *self*] same, as in *Err*, v 1 10 'that self chain about his neck', *Lr*, IV iii 36, etc. Cf also *The Three Lords*, etc. (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi 376) 'Not all our ships sail for one self haven'

Hath, with the courage which the heart did lend it,
 Splitted the heart This is his sword,
 I robb'd his wound of it behold it stain'd 25
 With his most noble blood

Cæs Look you sad, friends?

The gods rebuke me, but it is a tidings
 To wash the eyes of kings

Agr And strange it is,

That nature must compel us to lament
 Our most persisted deeds

Mæc His taints and honours 30

Wag'd equal with him

Agr A rarer spirit never

Did steer humanity but you gods will give us
 Some faults to make us men Cæsar is touch'd

Mæc When such a spacious mirror's set before him,
 He needs must see himself

Cæs O Antony, 35

I have follow'd thee to this, but we do launch
 Diseases in our bodies I must perforce
 Have shown to thee such a declining day,
 Or look on thine we could not stall together,

26 Look sad, friends?] *Hanner*, sad friends, *Theobald*, Looke you sad friends, *F*, Look you, sad friends, *F3* 27 is a tidings] *F2* (Tydings), 18 Tydings *F* 28, 31 *Agr*] *Theobald*, *Dol F* 31 Wag'd] *F*, way *F2*, weigh'd *Rowe*, and many others 36 launch] *F*, lance *Theobald* and *edd*

24 *Splitted*] Cf *2H6*, III II 411, *Err*, I I 103, V I 309 'O time's extremity, / Hast thou so crack'd and splitted my poor tongue,' etc

27 *a tidings*] † *F*'s rhythm is so awkward that we may without much compunction, I think, accept *F2*, particularly since a too grammatically-minded compositor might easily, thinking *a Tydings* a solecism, have dropped the *a* in the interest of supposed correctness [R]

28-30 *And strange deeds*] Cf III II 58 *ante*

31 *Wag'd equal*] *Steevens* 'were an equal match, i e were opposed to each other in just proportions, like the

counterparts of a wager' This explanation is confirmed by *Per*, IV II 34 'The commodity wages not with the danger'

36 *launch*] *launch* or *lanch* is the old and common form of 'lance' Cf *Nashe*, *Christ's Tears* (McK II 156, line 19) 'and even as *Archabius* the Trumpeter had more guen him to cease then to sound (the noise that he made was so harsh) so wil they guie them more to corrupt them then to make them sound, to feede their sores than to *launch* them', and see note on *Lr*, II I 52 (*Arden Shakespeare*)

39 *stall*] dwell See *Whetstone*, 2

In the whole world But yet let me lament 40
 With tears as sovereign as the blood of hearts,
 That thou my brother, my competitor,
 In top of all design, my mate in empire,
 Friend and companion in the front of war,
 The arm of mine own body, and the heart 45
 Where mine his thoughts did kindle,—that our stars,
 Unreconcilable, should divide
 Our equalness to this Hear me, good friends,—
 But I will tell you at some meeter season,
 The business of this man looks out of him, 50
 We'll hear him what he says

Enter an Egyptian

Whence are you ?

Egypt A poor Egyptian yet, the queen my mistress
 Confin'd in all she has, her monument,
 Of thy intents desires instruction,
 That she preparedly may frame herself 55
 To the way she's forc'd to

52 Egyptian yet, the] *Rowe* (ed 3), Egyptian yet, the *F*, *Hunter*, followed by
D Wilson, reads Egyptian, yet the 56 to] *F2*, too *F*

Promos and Cassandra, III 11 (Nichols,
Six Old Plays, 1779, p 83) 'Well, ere
 I leave, my poorest subjects shall /
 Both lyve and lyke, and by the richest
 staul'

41 *sovereign blood*] See on IV 11 6
ante, the thought being, perhaps, of a
 sovereign remedy

42 *competitor*] Perhaps here =
 friendly rival, [thou] who viedst with
 me, rather than merely—as in I IV 3
 and II VII 70 *ante*—associate

43 *In top design*] 'In top of'
 means 'in height of', and expresses the
 superlative degree of whatever is in
 question, as in *A Lover's Complaint*, 55
 'This said, in top of rage the lines she
 rents,' etc Hence, possibly, it may be
 allowable to paraphrase here 'in the
 daring (or supreme) conception and
 conduct of all enterprise'

46 *Where kindle*] No one seems
 to find a difficulty here *Hus*, of course
 = *its*, but does 'Where my heart did

kindle its thoughts' = Where I found
 inspiration, or merely indicate the
 close commune of friends ?

47-8 *divide thus*] sunder us, who
 were thus equal associates in every-
 thing, so widely and so fatally

50 *The business him*] Cf *Cym*,
 V V 23 'There's business in these
 faces', and *Mac*, I II 47 'What a
 haste looks through his eyes'

52 *A poor Egyptian yet*] Taken in con-
 nection with what follows, this reply
 seems equivalent to 'From what is yet
 Egypt, till your intents pronounce its
 fate' Johnson's explanation is 'Yet a
 servant of the Queen of Egypt, though
 soon to become a subject of Rome'
 A new suggestion is made by Deighton,
 viz 'one who, though conquered, still
 boasts himself an Egyptian' Schmidt
 prefers the *F* reading, explaining 'A
 poor Egyptian yet, the queen,' as 'My
 queen, who is now no more than a
 poor Egyptian'

- Cæs* Bid her have good heart,
 She soon shall know of us, by some of ours,
 How honourable, and how kindly we
 Determine for her For Cæsar cannot live
 To be ungentle
- Egyp* So the gods preserve thee! [*Exit* 60
- Cæs* Come hither, Proculeius Go and say
 We purpose her no shame give her what comforts
 The quality of her passion shall require,
 Lest, in her greatness, by some mortal stroke
 She do defeat us For her life in Rome 65
 Would be eternal in our triumph go,
 And with your speediest bring us what she says,
 And how you find of her
- Pro* Cæsar, I shall [*Exit*
- Cæs* Gallus, go you along [*Exit Gallus*] Where's Dolabella,
 To second Proculeius?
- All* Dolabella! 70
- Cæs* Let him alone for I remember now
 How he's employ'd he shall in time be ready
 Go with me to my tent, where you shall see
 How hardly I was drawn into this war,

59 live] *Rowe* (ed 3) and *Southern MS*, leave *F*, learn *Dyce* (*Tyrwhitt cony*)
 60 ungentle] *F*, gentle *Capell*, reading Leave transferred to this line 69 *Exit*
Gallus] *Theobald*, not in *F*

59-60 live To be ungentle] †The Southern-Rowe emendation has been almost universally accepted It is fairly easy graphically (especially if we accept Dover Wilson's suggestion of a MS *leue*, a spelling which would account for *F*'s *love* for *leave* in I ii 177) and even easier auditorily, and it makes quite adequate sense None the less *leave* has to me a more Shakespearean 'feel', with the sense 'stop being gentle' or even more nearly 'stop being himself so as to become ungentle' But the first involves an almost impossible (in spite of Capell) emendation, and the second an almost impossible ellipse [R]

65-6 her life triumph] Not 'her abode in Rome would perpetuate my

triumph,' but 'her presence *alive*, at my triumph in Rome, would make it everlastingly memorable' The sense of *life* is not here 'continuous existence,' but merely contains the idea of life, as opposed to that of death involved in 'some mortal stroke' We may, perhaps, regard *eternal* here as having become merely intensive, and explain 'her presence would contribute in the highest degree to my triumph' Expressions like 'an eternal swindle' may be heard nowadays See also an *eternal villain* in *Oth*, iv ii 130 (*Arden Shakespeare*) Cf North, *post*, p 274

67 with your speediest] as quickly as you can Cf 'with your earhest,' *Oth*, ii iii 7

How calm and gentle I proceeded still 75
 In all my writings Go with me, and see
 What I can show in this [Exeunt

[SCENE II — *Alexandria A room in the monument*]

Enter CLEOPATRA, CHARMIAN, and IRAS

Cleo My desolation does begin to make
 A better life 'tis paltry to be Cæsar
 Not being Fortune, he's but Fortune's knave,
 A minister of her will and it is great
 To do that thing that ends all other deeds, 5
 Which shackles accidents, and bolts up change,
 Which sleeps, and never palates more the dung,
 The beggar's nurse, and Cæsar's

Scene II

7 dung] *F*, dug *Theobald* (dugg) and many other edd

Scene II

[For the staging of this scene see Appendix IV]

S D Enter *Cleopatra*] † *F* brings in *Mardian* also Much as I dislike tinkering with *F*'s S D s, I think that he must be omitted (a) He says nothing throughout the scene, not a strong argument, in view of *Agrippa* in III XI (b) North (see p 277) stresses the absence of everyone but the two waiting-women, a trifle stronger, but not at all decisive (c) There is no place that I can see where we can restore a supposedly omitted 'Exit *Mardian*,' so that if he is to be there we must imagine him as a silent spectator throughout But there are two points at which, if he is there, one would expect some notice to be taken of him, first at the moment of *Cleopatra*'s farewell (line 291), second after *Cæsar*'s entry (line 332), where he would naturally be questioned I fancy that Shakespeare intended to include him in the dialogue, but then found that the scene was better without him, and forgot to delete his entry [R]

2 *A better life*] i.e. a life in which Fortune's gifts are rightly estimated and despised, and the contemplation of one crowning and emancipating deed restores a sense of confidence, and superiority over Fortune's minion

3 *knave*] servant, as in IV XIV 12
 7-8 *Which Cæsar's*] Fortune's favour has just been scorned it remains to decry life, which Cæsar and the beggar must retain by the same means 'Which sleeps,' etc (line 7) is a bold equivalent for Which is a sleep, emancipated from need of the base food on which depends as much the life of Cæsar as a beggar's Johnson says 'The difficulty of the passage, if any difficulty there be, arises only from this, that the act of suicide, and the state which is the effect of suicide, are confounded Voluntary death, says she, is an act which bolts up change, it produces a state which has no longer need of the gross and terrene sustenance, in the use of which Cæsar and the beggar are on a level The speech is abrupt, but perturbation in

Enter PROCULEIUS

Pro Cæsar sends greeting to the Queen of Egypt,
And bids thee study on what fair demands 10
Thou mean'st to have him grant thee

Cleo What's thy name?

Pro My name is Proculeius

Cleo Antony

Did tell me of you, bade me trust you, but
I do not greatly care to be deceiv'd
That have no use for trusting If your master 15
Would have a queen his beggar, you must tell him,
That majesty, to keep decorum, must
No less beg than a kingdom if he please
To give me conquer'd Egypt for my son,
He gives me so much of mine own, as I 20
Will kneel to him with thanks

Pro Be of good cheer

Y're fall'n into a princely hand, fear nothing,
Make your full reference freely to my lord,
Who is so full of grace, that it flows over
On all that need Let me report to him 25
Your sweet dependency, and you shall find
A conqueror that will pray in aid for kindness,

8 S D *Enter Proculeius*] *F*, *Enter, to the gates of the monument, Proculeius, Gallus, and Soldiers Capell*

such a state is surely natural' For
palates = tastes, cf *Troil*, iv 1 59
'Not *palating* the taste of her dishonour' A little earlier (iv xv 62)
Cleopatra has described the world as
now 'No better than a sty', and in i 1
35-7 *ante*, Antony contrasts the nobleness of life in love with kingship over clay 'our dungy earth alike,' he says, 'feeds beast as man' and as the play is full of reminiscences, we have probably one such here And it is probably the attraction of an inoffensive for an unpleasant idea, repulsive to modern refinement, rather than the association with the word *nurse*, which has caused so many editors to read *dug* for *dung* with Warburton

8 *Enter Proculeius*] With what follows, to line 46, cf North, *post*, p 274 And see Appendix IV

14 *care to be deceiv'd*] i e care whether I am deceived or not (Delius)

20 *as*] = that, after *so* Cf R3, iii iv 37 (Q) 'And finds the testy gentleman so hot, / As he will lose his head ere give consent,' etc, and see Abbott, *Shakespearean Grammar*, §109

23 *Make your reference*] refer your case

27 *pray in aid*] a legal term, as Hammer pointed out Here, with the context, equivalent to beg your assistance in order that he may omit no kindness 'This word (Ayde) is also particularly used in matter of Plead-

Where he for grace is kneel'd to

Cleo Pray you, tell him

I am his fortune's vassal, and I send him
The greatness he has got I hourly learn 30
A doctrine of obedience, and would gladly
Look him i' the face

Pro This I'll report, dear lady
Have comfort, for I know your plight is pitied
Of him that caus'd it

Enter GALLUS and soldiers behind

Gal You see how easily she may be surpris'd 35
[*To Proculeus and the Guard*] Guard her till Cæsar come
[*Exit*

Iras Royal queen!

Char O Cleopatra, thou art taken, queen

Cleo Quick, quick, good hands [Drawing a dagger

34 S D] not in F See App IV 35 Gal] Malone, Pro F, Char F2 See note
36 To Proculeus] Malone, not in F S D Exit] Exit Gallus Malone, not
in F 39 Drawing] Theobald, not in F

ing, for a Petition made in Court for the calling in of help from another that hath an interest in the cause in question, and is likely both to give strength to the Party that prayeth in ayd of him, and also to avoid a prejudice growing toward his own right, except it be prevented' So Cowel's *Interpreter*, enlarged by Manley, ed 2, 1684, under *Ayde* The meaning of the term seems to admit of the above 'beg your assistance' instead of merely 'seek assistance,' and in lines 185-6 *post*, Cæsar says 'For we intend so to dispose you as / Yourself shall give us counsel' The simpler sense occurs in Bacon's essay 'Of Friendship' 'But yet without *praying in aid* of alchemists,' etc

29-30 I send got] Johnson 'I allow him to be my conqueror, I own his superiority with complete submission'

35-6 Gal You come] Theobald

was the first to see, by reference to Plutarch, that line 35 belongs to Gallus Line 36, however, 'Guard her,' etc, he left to Proculeus, inserting a corresponding stage-direction after line 34 'Here Gallus, and Guard, ascend the Monument by a ladder, and enter at a back-window' See *post*, p 274, for the passage in North which justifies Malone in assigning line 36 also to Gallus, by showing that Proculeus, with two of his men, was now within the monument in presence of Cleopatra, while Gallus remained without

] See Appendix IV I have left the original note standing, as an example of the dangers of equating North and Shakespeare There is nothing in Shakespeare to show that Proculeus ever had two or any other number of men with him, or that he is now anywhere else than he has been throughout [R]

Pro Hold, worthy lady, hold
[*Seizes and disarms her*
Do not yourself such wrong, who are in this 40
Reliev'd, but not betray'd

Cleo What, of death, too,
That rids our dogs of languish?

Pro Cleopatra,
Do not abuse my master's bounty, by
The undoing of yourself let the world see
His nobleness well acted, which your death
Will never let come forth 45

Gleo Where art thou, death ?
Come hither, come, come, come, and take a queen
Worth many babes and beggars !

Pro O, temperance, lady!

Gleo Sir, I will eat no meat, I'll not drink, sir,—
If idle talk will once be necessary,— 50
I'll not sleep neither This mortal house I'll ruin,

39 S D Seizes] Malone, not in F 42 languish] F, anguish Johnson cony
49-50 sir,— necessary,—] See note, sir, necessary F

42 *languish*] the miserable drooping condition caused by disease or injury. See *Rom.*, 11150. A late example is cited in *OED*: 'A long record of perishable *languish*' (H. Coleridge, *Poems*, 1851, 1118).

50 *If necessary*, — I prefer to regard this line as parenthetical, with Singer and Kinnear. Most editors point, *sur*, *If necessary*, I'll neither F has no stop save comma after *sur* and full stop after *neither*. Hitherto (and she reverts to this course in her interview with Cæsar) Cleopatra has silently nursed her purpose and deceived her conquerors. Now, shaken out of her self-possession she reveals it in threats, idle talk, as she calls them by contrast with her settled and previously dissembled purpose. 'Words,' says Daniel's Cleopatra, 'are for them that can complaine and lue' (*Works*, Grosart, iii 73, *Cleopatra*, iv, line 1154). The line will then mean 'If for once

I must weakly deal in words' and it seems more naturally to follow the first threats than to be confined to that of not sleeping Steevens suggested 'If it be necessary, for once, to talk of performing impossibilities, why, I'll not sleep neither' Malone and Ritson believed a line to be lost after *necessary*, such as—according to the former—'I'll not so much as syllable a word' Hanmer has *accessary*, and so, too, the Collier MS and Staunton, the last-named explaining 'and if idle talk will for the nonce be assistant, I'll not sleep' Capell reads *speak* for *sleep* The omission of the line (50), as one cancelled by Shakespeare but retained by the printer, has also been suggested With Cleopatra's threats, cf 'I neuer will nor eate, nor drinke, nor taste / Of any Cates that may preserue my life / I neuer will nor smile, nor sleepe, nor rest' *A Woman Kilde with Kindnesse*, 1607 (Pearson's *Heywood*, II 151)

Do Cæsar what he can Know, sir, that I
 Will not wait pinion'd at your master's court,
 Nor once be chastis'd with the sober eye
 Of dull Octavia Shall they hoist me up, 55
 And show me to the shouting varletry
 Of censuring Rome? Rather a ditch in Egypt
 Be gentle grave unto me, rather on Nilus' mud
 Lay me stark-nak'd, and let the water-flies
 Blow me into abhorring, rather make 60
 My country's high pyramides my gibbet,
 And hang me up in chains

Pro You do extend
 These thoughts of horror further than you shall
 Find cause in Cæsar

Enter DOLABELLA

Dol Proculeius,
 What thou hast done thy master Cæsar knows, 65
 And he hath sent for thee for the queen,
 I'll take her to my guard

Pro So, Dolabella,
 It shall content me best be gentle to her
 [*To Cleo*] To Cæsar I will speak what you shall please,
 If you'll employ me to him

Cleo Say, I would die 70
 [*Exit Proculeius*]

56 varletry] Varlotry *F*2, Varlotarie *F* 66 for the queen] *F*, as for *F*2
 69 *To Cleo*] *Hammer*

52-7] Cf iv xii 33-9 *ante*, and
 v ii 207 *et seq post*

53 pinion'd] with wings clipped (not
 'manacled')

58-60] Cf the wish in iii xiii
 166-7 *ante*

61 high pyramides] Though *pyramids*
 occurs in *Mac*, iv i 57, the classical
 and qudrisyllabic plural was the pre-
 valent form Cf e.g. *Locrine*, iii iv 32
 'the high pyramides, / Which with their
 top surmount the firmament', and
 Heywood, *The Actor's Vindication*, n d,
 London, by G. E. for W. C., p. 7

'Hercules on his high *Pyramides*
 writing *Nil ultra*,' etc

64 Enter *Dolabella*] In North (see
post, p. 275) it is Epaphioditus who is
 sent at this stage For *Dolabella*, see
ibid, p. 276, the source of lines 196,
 206 *post*

70 Exit *Proculeius*] This in *F* is
 after to him, an interesting illustration
 of the time which an exit (like an en-
 trance) took on the Elizabethan stage
 He begins his exit as he concludes his
 speech, and Cleopatra speaks to him
 as he moves to the door

Dol Most noble empress, you have heard of me?

Cleo I cannot tell

Dol Assuredly you know me

Cleo No matter, sir, what I have heard or known
You laugh when boys or women tell their dreams,
Is't not your trick?

Dol I understand not, madam 75

Cleo I dreamt there was an Emperor Antony
O such another sleep, that I might see
But such another man!

Dol If it might please ye,—

Cleo His face was as the heavens, and therein stuck
A sun and moon, which kept their course, and lighted
The little O, the earth

Dol Most sovereign creature,— 81

Cleo His legs bestrid the ocean, his rear'd arm
Crested the world his voice was propertied
As all the tuned spheres, and that to friends

71 me?] *Capell*, me *F* 81 O, the] *Steevens*, o' th' *F*, O o' th' *Theobald*

71 *empress*] 'It owns her Antony's widow and ignores Octavia' (Barker)

81 *O, the earth*] This reading squares with Shakespeare's use of O for anything circular, as in *H5*, Prol 13 'Within this wooden O,' for the first Globe theatre, a round building See also *MND*, III 1188, *LLL*, V 1145 Hamner has 'orb o' th' earth,' as in *Cor*, V V 127

82 *His legs ocean*] Cf *Cæs*, I 11134 'Why man, he doth bestride the narrow world / Like a Colossus,' etc and Webster, *Appius and Virginia*, III 184 'The high Colossus that bestrides us all'

83 *Crested the world*] Percy 'Alluding to some of the old crests in heraldry where a raised arm on a wreath was mounted on the helmet'

83-4 *was propertied spheres*] was as musical in quality as, etc 'Pythagoras (saith Censorinus) asserted, that this whole World is made according to musical proportion, and that the seven Planets, betwixt Heaven and the

Earth, which govern the Nativities of Mortals, have a harmonious motion, and Intervals correspondent to musical Diastemes, and render various sounds, according to their several heights, so consonant, that they make most sweet melody, but to us inaudible, by reason of the greatness of the noise, which the narrow passage of our Ears is not capable to receive' (Stanley, *History of Philosophy*, ed 3, 1701, p 393, pt ix, sect iv, chap III) See also on II VII 14-16 *ante* This sphere-music is the subject of a poetical scene (the last of Act III) in *Lingua* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix 406-10) and recurs constantly in Elizabethan poetry For *propertied*, cf *The English Traveller*, I 1 (Pearson's *Heywood*, IV 9) 'This approues you, / To be most nobly *propertied*, that,' etc

84 *and that to friends*] Theobald read *when that* with no advantage Anon cony *address*, Staunton, and *sweet*, Elze, and *soft* Cf Middleton's *The Roaring Girl*, IV 1109 'when friends meet, /

But when he meant to quail, and shake the orb, 85
 He was as rattling thunder For his bounty,
 There was no winter in 't an autumn 'twas
 That grew the more by reaping his delights

87 autumn 'twas] *Thrlby cony*, *Theobald*, independently, *Anthony* it was *F*

The music of the spheres sounds not more sweet / Than does their conference'

85 *quail*] often, as here, transitive, cow, overpower Cf *The Three Ladies of London*, 1584 (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi 266) 'She cannot *quail* me, if she came in likeness of the great devil'

87 *an autumn 'twas*] † This brilliant emendation is graphically easy (no more than the rectification of two minor errors) if (but only if) we assume, with Dover Wilson, an MS spelling *Autonne*, misread by the compositor as *Autome*

There is no doubt that *autumn* gives admirable sense, and that the turn of imagination is thoroughly Shakespearean, whereas *Anthony* gives no sense at all. For the word, Jonson's use of it in *Volpone*, v vi 18, is illustrative 'You should ha' some would swell now, like a wine-fat, / With such an *Autumn*—Did he gi' you all, Sir?' while for the thought, and particularly the coupling of *bounty* with the idea of autumn, Malone's quotation from *Sonn* lui brings one near to conviction 'Speak of the spring, and foison of the year, / The one doth shadow of your beauty show, / The other as your bounty doth appear'

The real trouble about the emendation is implied in 'but only if' above. The evidence of *F* is strong that, unless we are to suppose that he altered the spelling of the name every time he came to it, what the compositor had in front of him in his copy was regularly *Anthony* (very occasionally *Anthome*). And easy though the *Autonne*-*Autome* confusion would be, to misread *Autonne* as a word containing (probably) *y*, and (almost certainly) distinctive long-tailed *h*, would be much

less natural. Further, if, whatever the normal spelling, the copy (whether Shakespeare's autograph or transcript) indicated proper names for italicization, the absence of such indication for the hypothetical *Autonne* ought to have made the compositor suspicious. However, as Dr Brooks points out, *F*'s reading at iii xiii 162, where the compositor apparently took *Cæsarion* as an adjective, suggests that the copy was at least not consistent in such indication. And, for what it is worth, there is no such indication in the 'three pages' of *Sir Thomas More*.

But graphical considerations have much stronger positive than negative force. To show that a blunder was graphically easy is cogent support for an emendation, but to show that it was not easy is slender evidence against an emendation which on other grounds is convincing. Experience of the vagaries of compositors, modern as well as Elizabethan, makes one progressively surer that no blunder is 'impossible'—a word, I think, too readily used in dismissing an emendation on graphical grounds. And I have little doubt that *Autonne* is what Shakespeare wrote [*R*]

88-90 *his delights* *m*] This seems to mean that not even the sea of pleasure in which he lived could conceal the strength and greatness of the man, which his very pastimes displayed. Delius explains that Anthony was not submerged in his pleasures, but knew how to keep himself always above them. By reading *their* back for *his* back Hamner made the delights into consistent dolphins but spoiled the sense. With the image, Steevens compares a poem ['Being Absent from his Mistress,' etc.] from Lodge's *Willham*

Were dolphin-like, they show'd his back above
 The element they lived in in his livery 90
 Walk'd crowns and crownets realms and islands were
 As plates dropp'd from his pocket

Dol Cleopatra!

Cleo Think you there was, or might be such a man
 As this I dreamt of?

Dol Gentle madam, no

Cleo You lie up to the hearing of the gods 95
 But if there be, or ever were one such,
 It's past the size of dreaming nature wants stuff
 To vie strange forms with fancy, yet to imagine

96 or] *F*₃, nor *F*, *F*₂

Longbeard, 1593 (see *Glaucus and Scylla*, etc., Chiswick Press, 1819, p 115) 'Oh, faire of fairest, dolphin-like, / Within the ruers of my plaint, / With labouring finnes the waue I strike,' etc In the explanation of the frontispiece to a work on the 'Law of Drinking,' quoted in Braithwaite's *Barnabee's Journal* (ed Hazlitt, 1876, pp 44-5 note), occurs 'Next adjoyning stands the signe of the Dolphin with a bush and upon the signe this impreze, TEMULENTIS LÆTOR IN UNDIS'

91 *crowns*] coronets, as in iv xii 27 *ante*, q v Crowns and crownets are put for their wearers, as often drum for drummer and the like

92 *plates*] silver coins or pieces, a sense derived from the Spanish form (*plata*) of *plate* Cf *Christmas Carols*, from a collection 'probably printed between 1546 and 1552' (*Bibliographical Miscellanies*, Oxford, 1813, p 51 'For xxx plates of money / His mayster had he solde,' etc Steevens quotes Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, line 865 'What, can he steale that you demand so much?' / Belike he has some new tricke for a purse / And if he has, he is worth 300 *plats*' And again, immediately after 'Ratest thou this Moore butt at 200 *plats*?' The Spanish original reappears in *Tom Cringle's Log*, 1834, chap xiii 'and last of all we got

two live land-crabs from the servants, by dint of persuasion and a little *plata*, and clapped one into each stocking foot'

96 or] Mr Thiselton thinks *nor* of *F*, *F*₂ 'has been unwarrantably changed to *or*, owing to its being overlooked that this line is in direct contrast with the preceding, and that *nor* implies an ellipsis of *neither* or *not*' 'Cleopatra would ask,' he says, "'But assuming for the moment you are right, how came I to dream of such a one?'" This is ingenious, but Shakespeare's ellipses of *neither* are always unmistakable and cause no ambiguity

97 *It's past dreaming*] No dream can come up to the reality The thought is not unlike *Oth*, ii 1 63-5 (*F* as usually emended) 'One that excels the quirks of blazoning pens, / And in the essential vesture of creation / Does tire the ingener' Cf 'size of words,' *Tim*, v 1 71

98 *To vie fancy*] to compete with fancy in the creation of strange forms 'To vie' in gaming was to stake or counter-stake, originally (see Skeat, *Etymol Dict*) 'to draw on or invite a game' by staking a sum, *vie* and *invite* being different forms of one original Cf *Str*, ii 1 303, and *Sweetnam the Woman Hater*, 1620, iv iii, where the tying of Misogynus to a post and

An Antony were nature's piece, 'gainst fancy,
Condemning shadows quite

Dol Hear me, good madam
Your loss is as yourself, great, and you bear it 101
As answering to the weight would I might never
O'ertake pursued success, but I do feel,
By the rebound of yours, a grief that smites
My very heart at root

Cleo I thank you, sir 105
Know you what Cæsar means to do with me?

Dol I am loath to tell you what, I would you knew

Cleo Nay, pray you, sir,—

Dol Though he be honourable,—

Cleo He'll lead me then in triumph

Dol Madam, he will, I know 't 110

[*Flourish and shout within*, "Make way there Cæsar!"]

*Enter PROCULEIUS, CÆSAR, GALLUS, MÆCENAS, and
others of his Train*

104 smites] *Capell*, suites *F*, shoots *Pope* 109 triumph] *F*, triumph? *Pope*
110 S D s] *See note*

pricking him with pins is jocularly treated as a game of Post and Pair 'Scold First, stake *Mis* Oh, oh, oh, oh, *Aur* Againe, for me too, I will vye it', also Braithwaite, *Strappado for the Duell*, 1615 (repr 1878), p 146 'from his eyes / Her teares by finde their renew'd supplies, / Both *vie* as for a wager, which to winne,' etc

99-100 *were nature's piece quite*] would be a masterpiece of conception which would entirely discredit the unsubstantial creations of fancy For *piece*, see on III 11 28 *ante*, and cf Mabbe, *Celestina*, 1631, iv (Tudor Trans, p 97) 'Not a woman that sees him, but praiseth Nature's workmanship, whose hand did draw so perfect a *piece*', etc

102-3 *would I might but I do*] may I never achieve my aim if I do not

104 smites] *Pope's* reading (shoots), which Malonc and Boswell adopt, relying on the once similar pronuncia-

tion of *suits* and *shoots*, is further supported by Mr Threlton's reference to *Cor*, v 1 45 'grief-shot / With his unkindness' But it does not agree with 'at root,' as *smites* does, † and also produces an impossible assonance [R] Cf *smites me*, line 170 *post*

110-11 Enter *Proculeus*, etc] With what follows, down to line 189, cf North, *post*, pp 275-6

S D s] † *F* reads here as follows

Dol Madam, he will, I know't

Flourish

Enter Proculeus, Cæsar, Gallus, Mæcenas, and others of his Train
All Make way there Cæsar

This is all puzzling In the first place, one feels that the 'Make way' must surely precede Cæsar's entry And in the second place what is Proculeus doing apparently leading the procession? The usual modern method of dealing with it has been to have a 'shout within' along with the flourish,

Cæs Which is the Queen of Egypt?

Dol It is the emperor, madam [Cleopatra kneels]

Cæs Arise, you shall not kneel
I pray you, rise, rise, Egypt

Cleo Sir, the gods
Will have it thus, my master and my lord 115
I must obey

Cæs Take to you no hard thoughts,
The record of what injuries you did us,
Though written in our flesh, we shall remember
As things but done by chance

Cleo Sole sir o' the world,
I cannot project mine own cause so well 120
To make it clear, but do confess I have
Been laden with like frailties, which before
Have often sham'd our sex

Cæs Cleopatra, know,
We will extenuate rather than enforce
If you apply yourself to our intents, 125

and to demote Proculeius to a humbler place. This will serve, and perhaps gives the modern reader (and producer) as near as we can get to what was intended. But it is not wholly satisfying, and one or two observations fall to be made. First, on the Elizabethan stage the 'Make way' would need to precede Cæsar's appearance at the entrance door by very little, if at all. He still has to make his way some distance down stage, and a certain amount of noise and bustle would not be amiss. Second, the guard have presumably, from the time of Cleopatra's capture, been lining the back of the stage, guarding the exits, and it is they who have to make way. Is it possible that Proculeius does in fact enter first, perhaps with a few soldiers, as a kind of advance party, and that the 'Make way' comes from the guard, clearing the doors under his instructions, and not from 'voices off'? [R.]

120 *project*] frame or set forth. The projector of Shakespeare's day was the

promoter of ours, one who framed or planned a scheme and set it forth to the best advantage. The extension of the sense from *plan* to *set forth* seems, therefore, natural, but I have not met with another example of the latter. The former is common. Cf. Nabbes, *Covent Garden*, iv. iii (Works, Bullen, 167) 'A country Gentleman to sell his land, as it were to change his copie leave his knowne trade to *project* a better profit', and Quarles, *Argalus and Parthenia*, bk. 1 (ed. 1701, p. 14) '*Projects* and casts about which way to find / The progress of young Parthenia's heart'.

121 *clear*] clear of blame

124 *enforce*] press home, emphasize [frailties]. Cf. ii. ii. 99 *ante*, and *Cæs*, iii. ii. 42 'his glory not extenuated, wherein he was worthy, nor his offences *enforced*, for which he suffered death'.

125 *If* *intents*] if you conform yourself to my intentions, fall in with my designs

Which towards you are most gentle, you shall find
 A benefit in this change, but if you seek
 To lay on me a cruelty, by taking
 Antony's course, you shall bereave yourself
 Of my good purposes, and put your children 130
 To that destruction which I'll guard them from,
 If thereon you rely I'll take my leave

Cleo And may through all the world 'tis yours, and we
 Your scutcheons, and your signs of conquest shall
 Hang in what place you please Here, my good lord 135

Cæs You shall advise me in all for Cleopatra

Cleo [*handing a paper*] This is the brief of money, plate,
 and jewels,
 I am possess'd of, 'tis exactly valued,
 Not petty things admitted Where's Seleucus?

Enter SELEUCUS

Sel Here, madam 140

Cleo This is my treasurer, let him speak, my lord,

133 *And may world*] As Delius remarks, Cleopatra takes leave in a wider sense than Octavius. She tells him that liberty to do his will is now his without restriction of place, or, perhaps, says, as Deighton puts it 'the whole world is yours and therefore you are free to go through it from end to end.'

134 *scutcheons*] shields, or representations of them, showing the armorial bearings. Cf. *1H4*, v. 1. 142 'Honour is a mere *scutcheon*', *LLL*, v. 11. 565

137 S D] † Craig added the useful '*Giving a scroll*' at this point, Dover Wilson '*she proffers a paper*' two lines earlier. I think Craig is right. 'Here, my good lord' is said as Cleopatra gets ready to hand the paper, and Cæsar's line, which has nothing to do with the paper, but is an anticipation of lines 185-6, really interrupts continuous speech and action on her part. [R.]

brief] concise list, schedule. See *AND*, v. 1. 42 'There is a *brief* how many sports are ripe,' etc. Also in

sense of *abstract* or *summary*, as in *Edward III*, ii. 1. 82 'Whose body as an abstract or a *brief*', / Contains each general virtue in the world', Jonson, *A Tale of a Tub*, v. 11. 52 'Give me the *brief* of your subject.'

139 *admitted*] because Cleopatra immediately calls Seleucus to witness that she has reserved nothing. Theobald reads, 'Not petty things omitted', 'for this declaration,' he says, 'lays open her falsehood, and makes her angry when her treasurer detects her in a direct lie.' But her anger, as Johnson observes, is because 'she is accused of having reserved more than petty things.' Warburton, Hanmer, and Capell read as Theobald.

Enter Seleucus] † Capell, followed by most editors since, brought on Seleucus in Cæsar's train at line 110. But what is he doing there? And if he had already gone over to Cæsar why does Cleopatra here explain who he is? For the episode which follows, see pp. 275-6 [R.]

Upon his peril, that I have reserv'd
To myself nothing Speak the truth, Seleucus

Sel Madam,

I had rather seel my lips, than to my peril 145
Speak that which is not

Cleo What have I kept back?

Sel Enough to purchase what you have made known

Cæs Nay, blush not, Cleopatra, I approve
Your wisdom in the deed

Cleo See, Cæsar! O behold,
How pomp is follow'd! mine will now be yours, 150
And should we shift estates, yours would be mine
The ingratitude of this Seleucus does
Even make me wild O slave, of no more trust
Than love that's hir'd? What, goest thou back?
thou shalt

Go back, I warrant thee but I'll catch thine eyes 155
Though they had wings Slave, soulless villain, dog!

145 seel] *F* (seele), *Johnson*, and some others, seal *F3* (seale) and most edd 156
soulless villain] *Pope* (soul-less), Soule-lesse, Villain *F*

145 seel] †seel in its technical sense is to close a hawk's eyelid by a stitch I see no reason for deserting *F*, and some for retaining it (i) Out of the seventy-one occurrences in Shakespeare of *seal* (verb or noun), in the ordinary sense or a metaphorical sense derived from it, there is not a single instance of the spelling with *ee* (apart from one misprint *seale* and one *seal* it appears always as *seale* or *Seale*), and the same is true of the twenty-six occurrences of the past participle It seems a gratuitous assumption that this is the one instance of error out of 100 (ii) The emendation (for it is an emendation, and not, as the above count shows, merely a matter of accepting one of two spellings commonly confused) is usually supported by the statement that *seel* is used only of the eyes This statement—unless it means that the word in its technical sense is only so used, which is so obvious as to be hardly worth stating

—is just not true Of the four occurrences of *seele* or *seeling* in *F*, three have to do with the eyes, but in the fourth, *Oth*, i iii 270, the speculative and officed instrument which (if we accept *F* rather than *Q* as giving us Shakespeare's word) is to be *seeled* is much more than the eyes And in any case if we are going to confine Shakespeare's metaphorical use of a word to the limits of its everyday use we are going to find ourselves in deep waters (iii) In the matter of appropriateness to the context, *seal* makes Seleucus say, in effect, 'I would rather keep my mouth shut than tell lies,' a sufficiently vapid remark, whereas *seel* allows him to say 'I would rather submit to a painful operation than tell lies' [*R*]

150 mine] i.e. my followers

154-6 What, goest thou back? thou shalt, etc.] said as Seleucus recoils before Cleopatra's threatening advance

156 soulless villain] †*F*'s Soule-lesse,

O rarely base!

Cæs

Good queen, let us entreat you

Cleo

O Cæsar, what a wounding shame is this,

That thou vouchsafing here to visit me,

Doing the honour of thy lordliness

160

To one so meek, that mine own servant should

Parcel the sum of my disgraces, by

Addition of his envy Say, good Cæsar,

That I some lady trifles have reserv'd,

Immement toys, things of such dignity

165

As we greet modern friends withal, and say

Villan, can no doubt be defended, but it seems to weaken the crescendo of invective from a creature despicable but still human, through something barely human, to something not human at all [R]

161 *meek*] Malone 'tame, subdued by adversity Cleopatra, in any other sense, was not eminent for meekness'

162-3 *Parcel envy*] OED observes that the verb here has not been satisfactorily explained, and cites the versions of Johnson ('To make up into a mass') and Schmidt ('To enumerate by items, specify') Johnson does not explain how he takes *addition*, on which much depends and, in any case, if *parcel* means what he says, *sum* is rather unnecessary Schmidt, like Delius, takes *addition* as 'the summing up of numbers,' which suits his sense of *parcel* and yields, practically, 'reckons up my disgraces by his malicious adding up or counting' But Seleucus had not done this what he did was to increase the number of disgraces by one more, a sense at least met by Malone—whom most editors follow—with 'add one more parcel or *item* to the sum of my disgraces, namely, his own malice' The difficulty is the doubtful possibility of Malone's interpretation of 'parcel by addition' After the morris dance in Nashe's *Summer's Last Will* (III, p. 240, line 209) *Ver* says 'May it please my lord, this is the grand

capitall summe but there are certayne parcels behind, as you shall see, to which *Summer* rejoins 'Nay, nay, no more for this is all too much' The participle *parcell'd* occurs in *R3*, II II 81, but in sense, distributed, severally assigned 'Their woes are parcell'd, mine are general'

† Since *piece* can mean 'piece out', extend by adding pieces, as in I V 45 *ante*, may not *parcel* mean 'extend by adding "parcels," i.e. extra items' [R]

165 *Immement*] Of no moment or consequence No other example of the word is known

166 *modern*] ordinary, common Cf *Oth*, I III 109, *Mac*, IV III 170 'where violent sorrow seems / A modern ecstasy' See also Jonson, *The Poetaster*, V III 280 'Alas! that were no modern consequence,' etc, and *ATL*, II VII 156, 'modern instances' The present-day sense was also in use It is probably the sense in Marston's *Scourge of Villaine*, I 45 'O what a tricksie, lerned, nicking strain / Is this applauded, senseless, modern vaine', and certainly in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, 1601, IV 37 (*School of Shakspeare*, 1878, II 183) 'Brother, how like you of our modern wits? How like you the new Poet Mellidus?' In the same play, IV 100 (*ibid* 185) 'Indeed I yeeld, 'tis moderne policie, / To kisse euen durt that plaisters vp our wants,' the sense is as likely, or more so, to be 'common'

Some nobler token I have kept apart
 For Livia and Octavia, to induce
 Their mediation, must I be unfolded
 With one that I have bred? The gods! it smites me 170
 Beneath the fall I have [To Seleucus] Prithce go hence,
 Or I shall show the cinders of my spirits
 Through the ashes of my chance wert thou a man,
 Thou wouldst have mercy on me

Cæs

Forbear, Seleucus

[Exit Seleucus]

Cleo Be it known, that we, the greatest, are misthought 175
 For things that others do, and when we fall,
 We answer others' merits in our name,

171 To Seleucus] Johnson, not in F 174 S D Exit] Capell, not in F 177
 merits in our name,] Johnson, merits, in our name F

168 Livia] Cæsar's wife

169-70 unfolded With] exposed by
 Unfold has a similar sense in *Oth*, iv ii
 141, v i 21 For with = by, see *Wint*,
 v i 113, v ii 68, *Lr*, ii iv 308,
 etc

172-3 cinders chance] The meta-
 phor from fire concealed under ashes
 is very frequent See ii ii 13 ante,
 Sidney's *Arcadia*, ii (1725 ed i, p 202)
 'so truly the cold ashes laid upon my
 fire, did not take the nature of fire
 from it Full often hath my breast
 swollen with keeping my sighs im-
 prisoned,' etc, R Taylor's *The Hog*
hath lost his Pearle, i i (Hazlitt's
Dodsley, xi 431) 'I am that spark, sir,
 though now raked up in ashes, / Yet
 when it pleaseth fortune's chaps to
 blow / Some gentler gale upon me, I
 may then / From forth of embers rise
 and shine again' Jonson uses it very
 nobly in *Sejanus*, i 97-101 Cleopatra
 says that the fires of her nature are
 within an ace of showing that they are
 not utterly overwhelmed by the ashes
 to which her power and prosperity
 (see on *chance*, iii x 36 ante) have been
 reduced, in plain English, that her
 misfortunes have not subdued her past
 a dangerous resentment Dr Hudson,
 however, adopts *spirit* (S Walker conj

and Collier MS) for *spirits* (used in
 xiii 69 ante)—an unnecessary change
 —and Dr Ingleby's 'correction' (*Shake-
 speare Hermeneutics*, 1875, p 158) of
glance for *chance*, on the ground that
 'neither my *chance*, nor *mischance* [Han-
 mer], nor my *change* [S Walker conj],
 appears to answer the occasion or the
 speaker's mood we seem,' he says, 'to
 need some word referring directly to
 Cleopatra's own person or personal
 appearance' Why?

174 Forbear] equivalent to 'with-
 draw' Cf *Forbear me*, i ii 118 ante

175 *musthought*] misjudged Cf 3H6,
 ii v 107 'How will the country /
Misthink the king and not be satisfied'

177 We answer name] We answer
 (are accountable) in our own names
 for the demerits (or misdeeds) of
 others Cf *Stukeley*, line 1126 (Sim-
 son's *School of Shakspeare*, i 204) 'No
 sir I will not, and will answer it' The
 observation is general, or Cleopatra
 has forgotten that she has practically
 acknowledged the particular delin-
 quency Delius separates 'in our name'
 from 'answer', and makes 'others'
 merits in our name' = what others
 have misdone in our name, but the
 connection with 'answer' is too prob-
 able to be lightly dismissed, admitting

Are therefore to be pitied

Cleopatra,
 Not what you have reserv'd, nor what acknowledg'd,
 Put we i' the roll of conquest still be 't yours, 180
 Bestow it at your pleasure, and believe
 Cæsar's no merchant, to make prize with you
 Of things that merchants sold Therefore be cheer'd,
 Make not your thoughts your prisons no, dear queen,
 For we intend so to dispose you, as 185
 Yourself shall give us counsel feed, and sleep
 Our care and pity is so much upon you,
 That we remain your friend, and so adieu

Cleo My master, and my lord!

Cæs Not so adieu

[*Flourish Exeunt Cæsar and his Train*]

Cleo He words me, girls, he words me, that I should not 190
 Be noble to myself But hark thee Charmian

[*Whispers Charmian*]

Iras Finish, good lady, the bright day is done,
 And we are for the dark

Cleo Hie thee again,

191 S D *Whispers*] *Theobald, not in F*

this expansion to be possible. *Merits* and *demerits* were used interchangeably Cf Braithwaite, *Sirappado for the Duell*, 1615 (repr 1878, p 174) 'That those which wil not labour they should sterue, / For rightly so their *merits* do deserue,' etc, with *Cor*, i 1 277 'Opinion shall / Of his *demerits* rob Cominius,' and *Oth*, i 1 22

182 *make prize with you*] This usually escapes comment, but Deighton explains 'with you' as 'together with you,' quoting *R3*, iii vii 184 'widow / Made *prize* and purchase of his wanton eye' Schmidt, however, explains *prize* as *estimation*, quoting *Cym*, iii vi 76, *Lr*, ii 1 122, leaving us to speculate whether he takes 'make' etc as make estimation 'like you' (as Deighton understands him), or (referring to the goods), in the same category with you, or, finally, make estima-

tion along with you, i.e. enter into the question of reservations with you ('whether 'tis exactly valued, / Not petty things admitted'), a tempting sense if *prize* can really equal estimation in the sense of valuation

† But prize can also mean a contest —see *Mer V*, iii 11 142, 'Like one of two contending in a prize,' and though *OED* does not give an example of 'make prize' = 'engage in a contest' it seems a quite possible phrase, and is certainly the natural sense here required, 'to haggle' [R]

184 *Make not prisons*] Johnson 'Be not a prisoner in imagination, when in reality you are free' Cf Bacon, *Devise on the Queen's Day* (1595), 'The Hermit's Speech in the Presence', 'there is no prison to the prison of the thoughts, which are free under the greatest tyrants'

I have spoke already, and it is provided,
Go put it to the haste

Char

Madam, I will

195

Re-enter DOLABELLA

Dol Where's the queen?

Char

Behold, sir

[Exit

Cleo

Dolabella!

Dol Madam, as thereto sworn, by your command

(Which my love makes religion to obey),

I tell you this Cæsar through Syria

Intends his journey, and within three days

200

You with your children will he send before

Make you best use of this I have perform'd

Your pleasure, and my promise

Cleo

Dolabella,

I shall remain your debtor

Dol

I your servant

Adieu, good queen, I must attend on Cæsar

205

Cleo

Farewell, and thanks

[Exit Dolabella

Now, Iras, what think'st thou?

Thou, an Egyptian puppet shall be shown

In Rome as well as I mechanic slaves

With greasy aprons, rules, and hammers shall

196 Exit] not in F, Exit Charmian placed here by Capell, line 195 Theobald

206

Exit] Capell, Exit F, after Cæsar 207 shall] F, shalt F2 and edd

195 the haste] Cf 1' the haste for 'in great haste' (Lr, II 1 26)

196 Exit] †another example of Elizabethan exit, not easy to indicate, as the discrepancy between Theobald and Capell interestingly shows Charmian begins to move off on Madam, I will, and meets Dolabella on her way to the door [R]

196-206 Dolabella!] Cf North, post, p 276

207 an Egyptian puppet] an allusion to the innumerable puppet shows of the time, which drew their subjects from contemporary events, as well as popular plays, and history, sacred and profane See Jonson, Bartholomew Fair,

v 1 6 'O the motions, that I Lanthorn Leatherhead have given light to, in my time, since my Master Pod died! Jerusalem was a stately thing, and so was Niveveh, and the City of Norwich, and Sodom and Gomorrah, with the rising of the prentices, and pulling down the bawdy-houses there, upon Shrove-Tuesday, but the Gunpowder-plot, there was a get-penny!' etc With what follows, cf iv xii 33 et seq and v ii 55-7 ante

209 rules] instruments for ruling straight lines, and measuring short lengths, used by carpenters, etc Cf Cæs, i 1 7 'Where is thy leather apron and thy rule?' and Sylvester's Du

Uplift us to the view In their thick breaths, 210
 Rank of gross diet, shall we be enclouded,
 And forc'd to drink their vapour

Iras The gods forbid!

Cleo Nay, 'tis most certain, *Iras* saucy lictors
 Will catch at us like strumpets, and scald rhymers
 Ballad us out o' tune The quick comedians 215
 Extemporally will stage us, and present
 Our Alexandrian revels Antony
 Shall be brought drunken forth, and I shall see
 Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness
 I' the posture of a whore

Iras O the good gods! 220

Cleo Nay, that's certain

215 Ballad] *F2*, Ballads *F* o'] *Theobald*, a *F* 219 squeaking Cleopatra
 boy] *F* (Boy), speaking-Cleopatra-Boy *F2*

Bartas, *The Magnificence*, 1621 ed,
 p 447 'Where e'r she [Wisdom] go,
 she never goes without / *Compass*
 and *Rule*, Measure and weights
 about'

212 *drink*] inhale Cf Jonson,
E M I, III v 137 'The most divine
 tobacco that ever I drunk,' or (in case
 that suggests a Robinson Crusoe
 decoction), Purchase, *Pilgrimage*, ix 1
 820, 'after they have drunke the smoke
 of a certain herbe'

213 *lictors*] As Dover Wilson points
 out, Shakespeare is probably equating
 lictors with beadles, who officially
 dealt with strumpets, cf *Lr*, iv vi 166

214 *scald*] scabbed, scurvy So in
H5, v 1 5 'the rascally, *scald*, beg-
 garly, lousy, praggng knave, Pistol,'
 etc

215 *Ballad us*] Cf *Andromana*, v 11
 (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xiv 267) 'I shall be
 grown discourse for grooms and foot-
 boys, / Be *balladed*, and sung to filthy
 tunes' Massinger deplors the plague
 of ballads at the end of *The Bondman*, in
 a longer passage containing these
 lines 'Let but a chapel fall, or a street
 be fired, / A foolish lover hung himself
 for pure love, / Or any such like acci-

dent, and, before / They are cold in
 their graves, some damn'd dutty's
 made,' etc

quick] Malone 'hvely, inventive,
 quick-witted,' for Johnson's 'gay,
 inventive'

216 *stage us, and present*] So Jonson,
Poetaster, III iv 197 'I hear you'll
 bring me o' the *stage* there, you'll play
 me, they say, I shall be presented by a
 sort of copper-laced scoundrels of you
 life of Pluto! an you *stage* me, stink-
 ard,' etc

219 *boy*] English, unlike continental
 practice, confined female parts to boys
 or young men on public stages, till a
 clause in the patent granted to D'Aven-
 ant in Jan 1662-3 provided 'That,
 whereas the women's parts in plays
 have hitherto been acted by men in the
 habits of women, at which some have
 taken offence, we permit and give
 leave for the time to come, that all
 women's parts be acted by women'
 See D'Avenant, *Works*, 1872, I lxvii
 (*Prefatory Memoir*) In 1656, he had
 already experimented by giving the
 part of Ianthé in his musical piece,
The Siege of Rhodes, to Mrs Coleman
 See *ibid*, I lxvi

Iras I'll never see't¹ for I am sure my nails
Are stronger than mine eyes

Cleo Why, that's the way
To fool their preparation, and to conquer
Their most absurd intents

Re-enter CHARMIAN

Now, Charmian!¹ 225
Show me, my women, like a queen go fetch
My best attires I am again for Cydnus,
To meet Mark Antony Sirrah Iras, go
(Now noble Charmian, we'll dispatch indeed),
And when thou hast done this chare, I'll give thee leave
To play till doomsday bring our crown, and all 231
[*Exeunt Charmian and Iras A noise within*
Wherefore's this noise?

Enter a Guardsman

Guard Here is a rural fellow,
That will not be denied your highness' presence,
He brings you figs

Cleo Let him come in [Exit Guardsman
What poor an instrument 235

222 my] *F*₂, mine *F* 224 to conquer] *F*, conquer *F*₂ 225 absurd] *F*,
assur'd *Theobald*, abhor'd *Kunnear*, obscene *D Wilson conj* 228-9 go (Now
indeed,)] *F*, *Rowe removed parentheses* 231 SD] *F* has no exit, *Exit Iras*
Malone, *Exit Iras Charmian falls to adjusting Cleopatra's Dress Noise within Capell*
See App IV 235 What] *F*, How *F*₂

225 absurd] †Why this desire for
emendation? *Absurd* is surely trium-
phantly proleptic, 'the intents that I
am going to make look silly', cf *ass*,
Unpoliced in lines 306-7 [R]

227 I *Cydnus*] See II ii 187 *et seq*,
ante

228 *Sirrah*] Women were often ad-
dressed thus Cf *Ralph Roister Doister*,
iv viii 2 'Ah *sirra* now, Custance,'
etc Philippa calls Violetta *sirrah* in
Middleton's *The Widow*, iii ii 28 See
also on iv xv 85 *ante*, and examples in
Pearson's *Hekker*, ii 383, illustrating
Westward Hoe, p 292

230 chare] See on iv xv 75 *ante*, and

cf *Sir Thomas More* (Shakespeare Soc.,
1844, p 37) 'This *charre* being charde,
then all our debt is payd'

231 Exeunt] See Appendix IV

232, etc Here *rural fellow*] See
North, post, p 277

235 What poor an instrument] Abbott
(*Shakespearean Grammar*, §422) treating
of transposition of the article, observes
on this passage that 'we can say "how
poor an instrument," regarding "how"
as an adverb, and "how poor" as an
adverbialised expression, but not
"what poor an instrument," because
"what" has almost lost with us its
adverbial force'

May do a noble deed ! he brings me liberty
 My resolution's plac'd, and I have nothing
 Of woman in me now from head to foot
 I am marble-constant now the fleeting moon
 No planet is of mine

Re-enter Guardsman, with Clown bringing in a basket

Guard This is the man 240

Cleo Avoid, and leave him [*Exit Guardsman*

Hast thou the pretty worm of Nilus there,
 That kills and pains not ?

Clown Truly I have him but I would not be the party
 that should desire you to touch him, for his biting is 245
 immortal those that do die of it, do seldom or never
 recover

Cleo Remember'st thou any that have died on 't ?

Clown Very many, men and women too I heard of one
 of them no longer than yesterday, a very honest 250
 woman, but something given to lie, as a woman
 should not do, but in the way of honesty, how she
 died of the biting of it, what pain she felt truly, she
 makes a very good report o' the worm but he that
 will believe all that they say, shall never be saved 255
 by half that they do but this is most falliable, the
 worm's an odd worm

239 marble constant] *hyphenated by Capell* 240 S D *Re enter*] *Globe,*
Enter Guardsman, and Clowne F, with a Basket added by Rowe 256 falliable] *F,*
fallible F2 and edd

239 *marble-constant*] Philoclea, in Sidney's *Arcadia*, bk II, inscribed her vows of chastity on marble, but subsequently blaming her love for Zelmane, composed other verses to subjoin to the former, confessing 'how ill agree in one, / A woman's hand with constant marble stone'

fleeting moon] As at III xiii 153-4, q v, Capell thinks that Cleopatra's imitation of the goddess Isis, the moon goddess, is alluded to. The suggestion here is originally Warburton's

242 *worm*] snake, an old and com-

mon sense. So in *Cym*, III iv 37 'out-venoms all the worms of Nile', Jonson, *Sejanus*, v 47 'T'express a worm, a snake'

249 *of*] from

256 *falliable*] Editors read *fallible* with F2, but the odd form may be as intentional as the positions of *all* and *half* in the preceding clause, which Warburton wished to transpose Cf *unfalliable* in Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, etc., 1691, ed Lang, 1893, p 48, and, in general, the grave-diggers in *Hamlet*

Cleo Get thee hence, farewell

Clown I wish you all joy of the worm [*Setting down his basket*

Cleo Farewell 260

Clown You must think this, look you, that the worm
will do his kind

Cleo Ay, ay, farewell

Clown Look you, the worm is not to be trusted, but in
the keeping of wise people for indeed, there is no 265
goodness in the worm

Cleo Take thou no care, it shall be heeded

Clown Very good give it nothing, I pray you, for it is
not worth the feeding

Cleo Will it eat me? 270

Clown You must not think I am so simple but I know
the devil himself will not eat a woman I know, that
a woman is a dish for the gods, if the devil dress her
not But truly, these same whoreson devils do the
gods great harm in their women for in every ten 275
that they make, the devils mar five

Cleo Well, get thee gone, farewell

Clown Yes, forsooth I wish you joy o' the worm [*Exit*

*Re-enter CHARMIAN and IRAS with a robe, crown, and
other jewels*

Cleo Give me my robe, put on my crown, I have
Immortal longings in me Now no more 280

The juice of Egypt's grape shall moist this lip
Yare, yare, good Iras, quick methinks I hear
Antony call I see him rouse himself

To praise my noble act I hear him mock
The luck of Cæsar, which the gods give men 285

259 *Setting*] *Capell, not in F* 278 *S D Re-enter jewels] no S D in F,*
Re-enter Iras with a robe, crown, etc Malone, followed by most other edd See App IV

262 *his kind]* what his nature dic-
tates Cf 'the deed of kind' (*Mer V, i*
iii 86), Jonson, *The New Inn, iii ii*
250 'She did her *kind*, according to her
latitude', Fuller, *The Profane State, v*
xviii, 1648, p 477 'Diseases do but
their *kind*, if they kill, and an evil
expected, is the lesse evil but no such

Torment as to die of the remedie,'
etc

278 *S D*] See Appendix IV
279 *robe, crown]* Cf North, *post*,
pp 277-8

280 *Immortal longings]* longings for
immortality

282 *Yare, yare]* deftly

To excuse their after wrath Husband, I come
 Now to that name, my courage prove my title!¹
 I am fire, and air, my other elements
 I give to baser life So, have you done?²
 Come then, and take the last warmth of my lips 290
 Farewell, kind Charmian, Iras, long farewell

[*Kisses them Iras falls and dies*

Have I the aspic in my lips? Dost fall?³
 If thou and nature can so gently part,
 The stroke of death is as a lover's pinch,
 Which hurts, and is desir'd Dost thou lie still? 295
 If thus thou vanishest, thou tell'st the world
 It is not worth leave-taking

Char Dissolve, thick cloud, and rain, that I may say,
 The gods themselves do weep!⁴

291 *SD Kisses*] *Malone, Kissing them Hanmer, Kissing them Iras falls Capell, not in F*

286 *their after wrath*] nemesis, disaster sent to punish arrogance resulting from excessive good luck

288 *my other elements*] i.e. earth and water, as man was thought to be composed of the four elements, whose relative proportions determined his character in each case Cf *H5*, III vii 22 of the Dauphin's horse 'he is pure air and fire, and the dull *elements* of earth and water never appear in him', *Tw N*, II iii 10, *Cæs*, V v 73 There is a full discussion of the matter in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, week 1, day 2, pp 20-2 in 1621 ed., from which is 'For, in our Flesh, our Bodie's Earth remains / Our vitall spirits, our Fire and Aire possess / And last, our Water in our humours rests'

289 *I give life*] according to Deighton, 'I leave to be eaten by worms' I doubt the idea's being so definite 'Fire and air' are that part of Cleopatra which she supposes to escape through death to immortal life her other elements she leaves with the *baser* conditions she is quitting, baser whether compared with the new life or with death, by which that is to

be nobly attained In my view it is simply life in a general sense, the abstract idea of life as opposed to death, that is implied

291 *Charmian, Iras*] So the folio, with the result in sound of slow, unbroken movement befitting farewells and, in sense, of uniting both women in the long adieu The usual separative pointing, *Charmian, Iras*, gains nothing but a paltry contrast of the halves of the line

292 *aspic*] the form of the word used by North (see *post*, pp 268, 278) and others So in *Oth*, III iii 451

Dost fall] Steevens 'Iras must be supposed to have applied an asp to her arm while her mistress was settling her dress, or I know not why she should fall so soon' I am rather inclined to agree with Delius that Iras is meant to die of grief at parting from her mistress After all, the improbability is little, if any, greater than that connected with the death of Enobarbus

† But Dover Wilson, I think rightly, says that *This* in line 299 surely implies a self-sought death [R]

Cleo

This proves me base

If she first meet the curled Antony, 300

He'll make demand of her, and spend that kiss

Which is my heaven to have Come, thou mortal
wretch,[To an asp, which she applies to her breast] With thy sharp
teeth this knot intricate

Of life at once untie poor venomous fool,

Be angry, and despatch O, couldst thou speak, 305

That I might hear thee call great Cæsar ass,

Unpoliced!

Char

O eastern star!

Cleo

Peace, peace!

Dost thou not see my baby at my breast,

That sucks the nurse asleep?

Char

O, break! O, break!

Cleo

As sweet as balm, as soft as air, as gentle

310

302 S D To] Capell (substantially), To the Serpent Pope, not in F 306-7
 ass, Unpoliced] F, most edd omit comma

300 *curled*] Probably she thinks of Antony as she first saw him, 'barber'd ten times o'er' (II ii 224 *ante*), again set off to the best advantage for this meeting, as she herself will be (lines 226-8 *ante*) in 'her best attires,' 'agam for Cydnus, / To meet Mark Antony' Shakespeare alludes to the fashion of his own day, as in *Oth*, I ii 68 'The wealthy *curled* darlings of our nation' Cf Lyly, *Midas*, III ii 40 'A lowe *curl* on your head like a Bull or dangling lock like a spaniel?' your love-locks wreathed with a silken twist, or shaggy to fall on your shoulders?"

301 *He'll make demand kiss*] Johnson 'He will enquire of her concerning me, and kiss her for giving him intelligence' (†A kindly explanation, but Shakespeare's Cleopatra knew her Antony better than Johnson did [R])

302 *mortal*] deadly Similarly used of a creature in *2H6*, III ii 263 ('The mortal worm'), and elsewhere in Shakespeare

wretch] merely = creature Cf

Oth, III iii 90 'Excellent *wretch*!'

303 *intricate*] intricate The word, as has been pointed out, is ridiculed as a 'new-minted epithet' in Marston's preface to his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1598, and affectedly used by Amorphus in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (in the 1616 folio additions), V ii 14 'Yet there are certain *puntihoes*, or (as I may more nakedly insinuate them) certaine *intrunsecate* strokes, and wardes, to which your actuties is not yet mount- ed' See *Lr*, II ii 80, for *intrinse* in same sense 'Such smiling rogues as these, / Like rats, oft bite the holy cords a-twain / Which are too intrinse to unloose'

308 *baby*] In Peele's *Edward I*, xvi 20-6, the same idea occurs to Queen Elnor, when she cruelly kills the Mayoress by applying a serpent to her breast 'Why, so, now she is a nurse — Suck on, sweet *babe*' See also *Christ's Tears*, etc., 1593-4 (Grosart's *Nashe*, prose, iv, pp 211-12) 'At thy breasts (as at Cleopatraes) aspissess shall be put out to nurse'

O Antony! Nay, I will take thee too

[*Applying another asp to her arm*

What should I stay—

[*Dies*

Char In this vile world? So fare thee well

Now boast thee, death, in thy possession lies

A lass unparallel'd Downy windows, close,

315

And golden Phœbus, never be beheld

Of eyes again so royal! Your crown's awry,

I'll mend it, and then play

Enter the Guard, rustling in

First Guard Where's the queen?

Char

Speak softly, wake her not

First Guard Cæsar hath sent—

Char

Too slow a messenger 320

[*Applies an asp*

311 S D *Applying*] *Theobald*, not in *F* 313 vile] *Capell*, wilde *F* 317
awry] *Rowe*, ed 3, away *F* 318 play] *Capell*, play—*F* 319 Where's]
F, Where is *Hammer* 320 S D *Applies*] not in *F*, *Charman* and *Iras* apply
the asp *Rowe*

311 Applying another arm]
One aspic (biting the arm only, not the breast) is mentioned in Plutarch, though some Latin writers speak of two see *post*, p 278, and Sir T Browne, *Vulgar and Common Errors*, v xii, 'Of the Picture describing the death of Cleopatra,' speaking of the breast being indicated as the place in some writers, says 'But herein the mistake was easy, it being the custom in capital malefactors to apply them unto the breast, as the author *De Theriaca ad Pisonem*, an eye-witness hereof in Alexandria, where Cleopatra died, determineth, "I beheld," saith he, "in Alexandria, how suddenly these serpents bereave a man of life, for when any one is condemned to this kind of death, if they intend to use him favourably, that is, to despatch him suddenly, they fasten an asp unto his breast, and bidding him walk about, he presently perissheth thereby"' Halliwell (folio ed) quotes this passage

312 What] *Why*, as in *Lr*, II iv 264, 266

313 vile] *F* wilde is probably a misprint of *vilde*, a very common form of *vile*, but some editors retain *wild* = desert, savage Cf 'vilde lady', iv xiv 22 ante Here I respect *Capell*'s modernization

315 windows] eyelids, as in *Rom*, iv 1 100 'thy eyes' windows fall', *Cym*, II ii 22, and elsewhere

317 awry] †A few editors have attempted to justify *F*'s away, Furness on the very strange grounds that away is 'more smooth and liquid than the crooked, harsh' awry (a good example of the dangers of looking at a word instead of hearing it) But the emendation is graphically easy (the comparatively frequent a r confusion), and I think that Dover Wilson's apposite quotation from Daniel's *Cleopatra*, v ii 268-9, 'in her sinking down shee wryes / The Diadem' is decisive [R]

318 play] a touching reference to her mistress's words, line 231 ante

O, come apace, despatch, I partly feel thee

First Guard Approach ho, all's not well Cæsar's begul'd.

Sec Guard There's Dolabella sent from Cæsar, call him

First Guard What work is here, Charmian? Is this well done?

Char It is well done, and fitting for a princess 325

Descended of so many royal kings

Ah, soldier! [Dies

Re-enter DOLABELLA

Dol How goes it here?

Sec Guard All dead

Dol Cæsar, thy thoughts

Touch their effects in this thyself art coming

To see perform'd the dreaded act which thou 330

So sought'st to hinder

[*Within* 'A way there, a way for Cæsar!']

Enter CÆSAR and all his Train, marching.

Dol O sir, you are too sure an augurer,

That you did fear, is done

Cæs Bravest at the last,

She levell'd at our purposes, and being royal

Took her own way the manner of their deaths? 335

I do not see them bleed

Dol Who was last with them?

First Guard A simple countryman, that brought her figs

324 here, Charmian? Is] heere *Charmian*? Is *F*, here?—Charmian, is *Capell* and most edd

320 *ad fin Cæsar hath sent*—] See North, *post*, pp 278

324 *What work*] † *Capell's* emendation, usually accepted, produces a better rhythm, and, for what it is worth, a closer approximation to North, but I am not clear that we are therefore justified in deserting *F* [R]

327 S D] *F* brings Dolabella in with the guard at 318, as well as giving him an entry here Cf III x S D

329 *Touch their effects*] meet with realization Cf *Lr*, IV ii 14

334 *levell'd at*] guessed correctly, an image from levelling a weapon to take aim, which also occurs in *Mer V*, I ii 41 It means *aimed at* in *Nobody and Somebody* (Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, I 298) 'My thoughts are *leveld* at a bloody end', and for the concrete sense, cf Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, ed 1621, week 1, day 7, lines 22-3 'A skilfull Gunner with his left eye winking, / *Levels* directly at an oak hard by'

337 *simple*] of humble degree Cf *Lr*, IV vi 156 'yond *simple* thief'

This was his basket

Cæs Poison'd then

First Guard

O Cæsar,

This Charmian lived but now, she stood and spake

I found her trimming up the diadem

340

On her dead mistress, tremblingly she stood,

And on the sudden dropp'd

Cæs

O noble weakness!

If they had swallow'd poison, 'twould appear

By external swelling but she looks like sleep,

As she would catch another Antony

345

In her strong toil of grace

Dol

Here on her breast,

There is a vent of blood, and something blown,

The like is on her arm

First Guard This is an asp's trail, and these fig-leaves

Have slime upon them, such as the asp's leaves

350

Upon the caves of Nile

Cæs

Most probable

That so she died for her physician tells me

She hath pursued conclusions infinite

351 caves] *caues F, canes Barry cony*

344 *external swelling*] Cf North, *post*, p 278, and see on line 311 *ante* There are many allusions to the painlessness of the death caused by asps, in Sylvester's *Du Bartas, The Lawe* (p 350 in 1621 ed), the absence of swelling is also noted 'So th' Asp's pale doth spet / / A drowzy bane, that inly creeps, and burns / So secretly, that without sense of pain, / Scar, wound, or swelling, soon the Partie's slain'

347 *blown*] † This is usually explained as 'swollen', which I find very hard to accept No doubt *blown* can mean 'swollen', but it does not appear to suit the context It will be observed that the Guard does not say 'Here is an asp's trail,' as though he was looking elsewhere about the room, but 'This is,' presumably referring to whatever Dolabella has discovered on breast and

arm I think therefore that *blown* must refer to something like the track of a snail [R]

351 *caves*] † Though I have not ventured to promote it to the text, I think Barry's emendation almost certain No doubt there were caves by the Nile, and no doubt 'asp's' may have left slime in them But 'upon the caves' is an odd expression for the natural 'in the caves' or 'upon the walls of the caves,' whereas the parallel between the *canes* and the fig-leaves is appropriate The misreading of *n* as *u* is easy [R]

353 *conclusions*] experiments, as in *Ham*, III iv 195, *Cym*, I v 18, etc So Braithwaite, *His Odes*, 1621, No 7, verse 6 'These, conclusions try on man, / Surgeon and Physician,' etc For the physician's information, cf North, *post*, p 268

Of easy ways to die Take up her bed,
 And bear her women from the monument, 355
 She shall be buried by her Antony
 No grave upon the earth shall clip in it
 A pair so famous high events as these
 Strike those that make them and their story is
 No less in pity than his glory which 360
 Brought them to be lamented Our army shall
 In solemn show attend this funeral,
 And then to Rome Come, Dolabella, see
 High order, in this great solemnity [Exeunt

357 *clip*] clasp See on IV viii 8
ante

359 *Strike make them*] afflict those
 whose actions have caused them A
 reflection corresponding with v i 36
et seq., ante 'I have follow'd thee to
 this, but yet let me lament,' etc

360-1 *No less lamented*] appar-
 ently elliptical for and the tale of

these events is as pitiful as the renown
 of him who caused their lamentable
 nature is glorious But in an uncritical
 perusal, the mind—and perhaps
 rightly after all—may refer *their* in
their story to *A pair so famous*, and under-
 stand and there is as much to pity in
 their story as glory for him who made
 them objects of pity

APPENDIX I

'An arm-gaunt steed' (I v 48)

In favour of *arm-gaunt*, or at least its first syllable, are (1) the frequent application to *horse* or *steed* of epithets from arms, as war-apparelled, barbed, harnessed, all-armed, as in Drayton's *Baron's War*, vi 85 (ed Morley, p 159) 'Why fell I not from that all-armed horse On which I rode before the gates of Gaunt', etc, (2) the existence of like compounds, as the Chaucerian *arm-greet* (as great as one's arm), *arm-strong* (strong of arm *Lochrine*, I 1, III 1, III 14), etc, and the fact that *arm* was not restricted to the limbs of man (see *OED*, s v) (a) From *gaunt* = lean, we have suggested meanings worn lean by much service in war (Warburton), gaunt by bearing arms (Collier), thin-shouldered (Seward, pref to *Beaumont and Fletcher* in 1778 ed, p lxxi, note), thin as one's arm (Halliwell, who compares *arm-greet*, as above), having lean fore-limbs (*Temple Shakespeare*),² with gaunt limbs (*OED*) The following from Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (*The Handycrafts*, p 227 in 1621 ed) favours the latter meanings in giving some characteristics of 'a gallant Horse'

With Pasterns short, vpight (but yet in mean),
Dry sinewie shanks, strong, flesh-less knees, and lean,
With Hart-like legs, etc

(b) From derived senses of *gaunt* looking fierce in armour (Boswell who conjectures a sense 'fierce' for *gaunt* from its being used of animals made savage by hunger), hungry for battle (Thiselton, relying on Jonson, *Catiline*, III 1 199 'and let His own [i.e. Jove's] gaunt Eagle flie at him, to tire', a reference of Staunton's) In *OED* under sense *hungry*, *greedy*, etc I find Smollett, *Reproof*, 125, 'Gorg'd with our plunder, yet still gaunt for spoil', etc (c) From *gaunt* as = gaunted, i.e. gloved, armour-gloved (Nicholson), gloved in arms (Schmidt) No evidence of the sense is adduced *Gaunters* occurs for Glovers in the list of crafts and plays, dated 1415, pr in *York Plays*, ed Toulmin Smith, 1881 (d) Schmidt suggests also completely armed, harnessed, or rather lusty in arms, full of life and martial spirits, from another *gaunt* found in Old English,

the German *ganz*, signifying 'whole', 'healthful', 'lusty' The *English Dialect Dict* (Wright) has *ganty* (of a horse) = frisky (Sussex), and I find in Braithwaite, *Barnabee's Iournall*, pt 3 (ed Hazlitt, 1876, sig H3), presumably in a somewhat similar sense

Where were dainty Ducks, and gant ones,
Wenches that could play the wantons, etc

In the following, however, *gaunte* seems to mean slenderness in a maid 'hur medyll ys bothe gaunte and small' (*Anglia*, 10 Aug 1908, p 315, *Songs temp Henry VIII*, from Rawlinson MS c 813)

The chief emendations proposed are *arm-gurt* (Hanmer), *terma-gaunt* (Mason), *war-gaunt* (Jackson), *arrogant* (Boaden), *rampaunt* (Lettsom) As to *arm-gurt*, *gurt* is a common spelling of *girt*, and the word (which Hudson adopts) retains the article *an* of the text Singer urges this advantage on behalf of *arrogant* (adopted by himself, Delius, and Deighton), and cites 'el cavallo arrogante' from Lope de Vega's *Auraco Domado* In the *Times Literary Supplement*, 29 April 1920, Dr John Sampson proposed to read *armugerent*, as possibly coined by Shakespeare, 'intending to call up a picture of the horse's trappings, emblazoned with the armorial bearings of his master' (†But challenge any actor to deliver the line as thus emended! [R])

APPENDIX II

MISLINEATION

Here are some examples of F's mislineation, taken from II 11 (I have modernized the spelling but retained the punctuation)

II 11 8-14

I would not shave't to day

Lep 'Tis not a time for private stomaching

Eno Every time serves for the matter that is then born in't

Lep But small to greater matters must give way

Eno Not if the small come first

Lep Your speech is passion but pray you stu

No embers up Here comes the noble *Antony*

Enter Antony and Ventidius

Eno And yonder *Cæsar*

It may be observed that Lepidus' speeches will do very well as they are But unless Enobarbus, who has hitherto been talking unmistakable verse, suddenly lapses into prose, his first complete

'line' ('Every time ') will not do at all, and to cure it involves a general reshuffle, so that modern editors, probably rightly, print

I would not shave't to-day
Lep 'Tis not a time
 For private stomaching
Eno Every time
 Serves for the matter that is then born in't
Lep But small to greater matters must give way
Eno Not if the small come first
Lep Your speech is passion
 But, pray you, stir no embers up Here comes
 The noble Antony
Enter Antony and Ventidius
Eno And yonder, Cæsar

II 11 118-24

Agri Thou hast a sister by the mother's side, admir'd
Octavia? Great *Mark Antony* is now a widower
Cæsar Say not, say *Agrippa*, if *Cleopater* heard you, your
 proof were well deserved of rashness
Ant I am not married Cæsar let me hear *Agrippa*
 further speak

This is a curious passage An oasis of prose cannot have been intended in the middle of a straight run of regular verse (which the compositor set quite correctly) All one can say is that the compositor, for whatever reason, whether difficulty with his copy (but why should the copy have been more difficult here than just before or just after?) or from a temporary fit of drowsiness, struck a bad patch, since not only does he set verse as prose, but he makes certainly two blunders (a second 'say' for 'so', with transposed comma, and *Cleopater*) and perhaps two more (a question mark and 'proof' for 'reproof') This is usually regularized thus

Agri Thou hast a sister by the mother's side,
 Admir'd Octavia great Mark Antony
 Is now a widower
Cæs Say not so, Agrippa,
 If Cleopatra heard you, your reproof
 Were well deserv'd of rashness
Ant I am not married, Cæsar let me hear
 Agrippa further speak

It is worth notice that the passage, even when regularized, contains two incomplete lines I see no other way of dividing the lines, but this suggests that in other places there may be more than one readjustment possible, as in the next example

II 11 29-37

Ant I learn, you take things ill, which are not so
Or being, concern you not

Cæs I must be laugh'd at, if or for nothing, or a little, I
Should say myself offended, and with you
Chiefly i' the world More laugh'd at, that I should
Once name you derogately when to sound your name
It not concern'd me

Ant My being in Egypt *Cæsar*, what was't to you?

Cæs No more than my residing here at Rome

Up to a point this is plain enough, *Cæsar*'s first five words are clearly the completion of the preceding line, and Rowe's cure has been universally accepted

Ant I learn, you take things, ill that are not so,
Or being, concern you not

Cæs I must be laugh'd at,
If, or for nothing or a little, I
Should say myself offended, and with you
Chiefly i' the world more laugh'd at that I should
Once name you derogately,

but after this things are much less plain Almost all editors, even those who are elsewhere earnestly and even sometimes fussily determined to extort more or less metrical lines from the most unpromising material, happily accept F's 'Once name your name' as a line, and follow Capell in redistributing the rest thus

Once name you derogately, when to sound
It not concern'd me

Ant My being in Egypt, *Cæsar*,
What was't to you?

Cæs No more than my residing here in Rome

On this one may observe that the F line can be made metrical only by an awkwardly slurring rapidity of delivery which will reduce the six syllables 'you derogately when' to the value of two feet instead of three, and, further, that whatever we do we are going to be left with an incomplete line somewhere, so that two other redistributions are possible, one of them, I think, preferable to Capell's

Once name you derogately, when to sound
Your name it not concern'd me

Ant My being in Egypt,
Cæsar, what was't to you?

Cæs No more than

Once name you derogately, when to sound

Your name it not concern'd me
Ant My being in Egypt, Cæsar, what was't to you?
Cæs No more than

II 11 158-63

At heel of that, defy him
Lep Time calls upon's,
 Of us must Pompey presently be sought,
 Or else he seeks out us
Anth Where lies he?
Cæs About the Mount-Misena
Anth What is his strength by land?
Cæs Great, and increasing
 But by sea he is an absolute master
Anth So is the fame

This is a good example of the results of the practice of starting each new speech with a new line. It looks like prose, and one might also be tempted to think that Shakespeare had intended this staccato interchange to be prose, if it were not for Lepidus' one complete line, which is unmistakable verse. The operations of the early editors were surprisingly tentative. Some adhered to F, and even Theobald produced the odd 'line' 'Great and increasing, but by sea'. But from Hanmer onwards the accepted distribution has been

At heel of that, defy him
Lep Time calls upon's
 Of us must Pompey presently be sought,
 Or else he seeks out us
Ant Where lies he?
Cæs About the Mount Misena
Ant What's his strength
 By land?
Cæs Great and increasing, but by sea
 He is an absolute master
Ant So is the fame

(Hanmer made a further, and attractive, change by attributing 'By land' to Cæsar. See the notes, *ad loc*.)

II 11 193-5

Purple the sails and so perfumed that
 The winds were love-sick
 With them the oars were silver,
 Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
 The water

This is an example of a type of mislineation rare in this play, namely of unmistakable mislineation (and incidentally of mispunctuation) occurring in the middle of a continuous piece of verse otherwise correctly set. It may be that Shakespeare had here made some alterations in the copy which confused the compositor, or simply that the correct line was too long for the narrow column and the compositor arbitrarily divided it, getting his punctuation wrong in the process. I give (in F's spelling) the next longest line in the passage, which just fills the width of the column, for purposes of comparison.

With diuers coulour'd Fannes whose winde did seeme,
The Windes were Loue-sick With them the Owers were Silver,

[It may have been expected that on this question of mislineation I should have at least referred to the views of Dr R. Flatter, set out in *Shakespeare's Producing Hand* (1948). I shall have a good deal to say about them later, so far as they bear upon *Othello*, on the textual problems of which Dr Flatter has views both decided and remarkable, and from which he adduces a considerable number of his instances. But he adduces few from *Antony and Cleopatra*, as is indeed natural, since the problems of this play are in the main not ones to which his views are helpfully applicable. And I will therefore for the moment content myself with a brief comment. Dr Flatter is a scholar and knows Shakespeare. But I do not believe that anyone, however scholarly and however well read, can appreciate the prosodic subtleties of a language other than his own, since he has not, in the nature of the case, the indispensable native ear. When therefore Dr Flatter is dealing with metrical considerations, and basing his arguments upon them, he seems to me almost uniformly wide of the mark, and wandering in a region which he does not begin to understand. When, on the other hand, he is dealing with points of dramatic effectiveness and verisimilitude (for example, and especially, his point that, when a new speaker has had no chance of hearing what the last speaker said, it would be unreasonable of him to open with a metrical completion of an unfinished line), then I think he has a great deal that is of interest, and something that is of value, to say.]

APPENDIX III

PUNCTUATION

(a) I v 59-78 F has two misprints in words (*mans* for *man* in 61 and *Parago nagaine* for *Paragon againe*), it prints some verse as prose (63-7), and in punctuation it has one intrusive colon (after *againe* in 71) and a probably intrusive comma (after *say* in 75). The rest of the punctuation, though far from modern, is certainly not impossible. But Case, Craig, and Dover Wilson make respectively fifteen, fourteen, and thirteen alterations in punctuation. They agree in deleting three commas and a colon, in inserting at least four commas (Case six), in replacing one comma by colon or full stop, and one comma and one full stop by exclamation marks.

(b) III xiii 182-201 F has one misprint (*in* for *on* in 199) and a comma (after *lightning* in 195) where even on Elizabethan principles a heavier stop would probably be better. Case, Craig, and Dover Wilson make fifteen, fourteen, and seven changes in punctuation. Case and Craig, apart from the usual insertions and deletions of commas, replace a comma by a heavier stop five times, and semi-colon or colon by the next heavier stop twice, but in the other direction they lighten a full stop or colon to semi-colon or comma three times. (c) v ii 345-64 F has one misprint (*Solmemnuty* for *Solemnty* in 364), one possible misprint (*caues* for, perhaps, *canes* in 351), a comma after *monument* in 355 where a heavier stop would be more natural, and a comma after *show* in 362 but no comma after *shall* at the end of the line before Case, Craig, and Dover Wilson make thirteen, thirteen, and ten changes. They all insert two commas and delete two, Case and Craig replace four commas by heavier stops (Dover Wilson only two), but Case and Craig both replace a full stop and a colon by the next lighter stop.

There follow some further examples of the different effect produced by the two types of punctuation.

EXAMPLES OF FOLIO PUNCTUATION

(I have throughout taken the original Arden edition's punctuation as typical of the 'usual' modern text.)

I III 71-3

(Arden) *Cleo* Cut my lace, Charmian, come,
But let it be I am quickly ill, and well,
So Antony loves

(F) *Cleo* Cut my Lace, *Charmian* come,
But let it be, I am quickly ill, and well,
So *Anthony* loves

V 11 193-5

(Arden) *Cleo*

Hie thee again

I have spoke already, and it is provided,
Go put it to the haste

(Craig, by the way, even adds a comma after 'Go')

(F)

Cleo

Hye thee againe,

I haue spoke already, and it is provided,
Go put it to the haste

In both these examples the light punctuation of F is tantamount to a stage-direction, in the first *Cleo* (*in agitation*), in the second, *Cleo* (*with hurried urgency*) She has no time for semi-colons

I IV 12

(Arden)

His faults in him seem as the spots of heaven,

(F)

His faults in him, seeme as the Spots of Heauen,

Where the F comma, I think, throws the required emphasis on to *him*—in a lesser man, Lepidus means, the faults would darken all the goodness I have made this yet plainer in the present edition by inserting the second comma which the modern reader expects, before *in*

II 11 151-3

(Arden)

let her live

To join our kingdoms and our hearts, and never
Fly off our loves again!

(F)

Let her lue

To ioyne our kingdomes, and our hearts, and neuer
Fle off our Loues againe

The comma after *kingdomes* points the distinction between the official union and the personal concord

II VII 101-2

(Arden)

but I had rather fast from all four days
Than drink so much in one

(F)

but I had rather fast from all, foure dayes, then
drinke so much in one

The F commas emphasize the duration of the fast (in modern American idiom 'Yes, and I mean "fast"')

III IV 11-12

(Arden)

Believe not all, or, if you must believe,
Stomach not all

- (F) Beleeue not all, or if you must beleeue,
Stomacke not all

Almost no one in speech would make the pause suggested by the 'logical' comma after *or*. And the same difference between speech and thought is shown in the next two examples

IV XIV 62-4

- (Arden) Thou art sworn, Eros,
That, when the exigent should come,—which now
Is come indeed,—

- (F) Thou art sworne *Eros*,
That when the exigent should come, which now
Is come indeed

IV XIV 85

- (Arden) Turn from me, then, that noble countenance

- (F) Turne from me then that Noble countenance

IV XII 9-20

An example of the greater rapidity of delivery suggested by F's punctuation

- (Arden) *Ant* All is lost,
This foul Egyptian hath betrayed me
My fleet hath yielded to the foe, and yonder
They cast their caps up and carouse together
Like friends long lost Triple-turn'd whore! 'tis thou
Hast sold me to this novice, and my heart
Makes only wars on thee Bid them all fly,
For when I am revenged upon my charm,
I have done all Bid them all fly, begone
O sun, thy uprise shall I see no more
Fortune and Antony part here, even here
Do we shake hands All come to this?

- (F) *Ant* All is lost
This fowle Egyptian hath betrayed me
My Fleete hath yeilded to the Foe, and yonder
They cast their Caps vp, and Carowse together
Like Friends long lost Triple-turn'd Whore, 'tis thou
Hast sold me to this Nouice, and my heart
Makes onely Warres on thee Bid them all flye
For when I am reueng'd vpon my Charme,
I haue done all Bid them all flye, be gone
Oh Sunne, thy vprise shall I see no more,
Fortune, and *Anthony* part heere, euen heere
Do we shake hands? All come to this?

V II 7-8

(Arden) Which sleeps, and never palates more the dung,
The beggar's nurse and Cæsar's

(F) Which sleepes, and neuer pallates more the dung,
The beggers Nurse, and Cæsars

The comma after *Nurse* surely points the ironic levelling-down of Cæsar

V II 158-63

(Arden) O Cæsar, what a wounding shame is this,
That thou, vouchsafing here to visit me,
Doing the honour of thy lordliness
To one so meek, that mine own servant should
Parcel the sum of my disgraces by
Addition of his envy!

(F) O Cæsar, what a wounding shame is this,
That thou vouchsafing heere to visit me,
Doing the Honour of thy Lordlinesse
To one so meeke, that mine owne Seruant should
Parcell the summe of my disgraces, by
Addition of his Enuy

This is an interesting example. The modern punctuation, whatever else may be said of it, is as a rule grammatical. But here the inserted comma after *thou* in the second line wrecks the syntactical structure by leaving *thou* a nominative hanging over a vacuum. If a comma was to be inserted at all it should have been after *That*, since it is plain that *thou vouchsafing* *doing* is an 'absolute' construction ('when you vouchsafe')

V II 286-7

(Arden) Husband, I come
Now to that name my courage prove my title!

(F) Husband, I come
Now to that name, my Courage proue my Title

The slight pause after *name* is surely as oratorically masterly as it is logically indefensible

APPENDIX IV

SCENES IV xv AND V 11

The staging of these scenes is discussed by Granville Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, second series, pp 162-6, by Adams, *The Globe Playhouse*, pp 263-8, and by Jenkin in the *Review of English Studies*, xxi, pp 1-14. All three assume the use of the inner stages, the upper for iv xv and the lower for v 11. But Dover Wilson points out that in both scenes dead bodies have to be carried off (the operation is explicit in the F stage-direction at the end of iv xv *Exeunt, bearing of Antonies body*, and implicit in the text of v 11 355), and that this carrying off would not be necessary with the curtainable inner stage (cf the end of *Othello*). He therefore suggests that a temporary monument was devised, 'a square painted wooden structure, with a barred gate in front' to conform with North (see page 282 *post*) 'and a flat roof' and that this structure was 'erected by servitors at the end of iv xiv on the outer stage over the central trap (through which Cleo etc., could enter and thence climb to the roof by a concealed stair)' Antony's body would then be 'borne off down the stair at the end of iv xv' and the structure would 'remain in position during the brief interval scene (v 1), be inexpensive to make, and quick to erect'.

This highly ingenious suggestion seems to me to create more, and more difficult, problems than it solves. (a) What is the audience, keyed up by Antony's attempted suicide, and waiting for his arrival 'where Cleopatra bides', supposed to be doing between the end of scene xiv and the opening of xv? Watching servitors at work on a bit of stage carpentry? 'Quick' is a relative term, and even five minutes of 'quick erection' would surely be fatally dislocating. (b) Would any manager or producer in his senses, having a ready built-in structure with which the two scenes can be adequately staged, go to the nuisance and expense of cluttering up his main stage with a temporary erection? (c) I say 'cluttering up' because v 1, cheerfully dismissed by Dover Wilson as a 'brief interval scene', has in fact seventy-seven lines, only fourteen fewer than iv xv, and a much fuller stage, since besides five speaking characters (and Gallus, who is there only to receive an order) on the stage till a few lines from the end, the F stage-direction brings on also Cæsar's *Counsell of Warre*. There are also two entries, one of which, that of Decretas with Antony's sword, is a dramatic moment. Imagine the Elizabethan stage, with the audience round three sides of it, and this temporary structure in the centre. No part

of the audience can get an uninterrupted view of the whole stage, and the only part of the stage that will be visible to all the audience will be a narrow strip in the front. The problems of the producer—to dispose a minimum of ten characters in this restricted space, and to make Decretas' entry effective—are surely insoluble.

Nor does Dover Wilson's argument appear, on examination, particularly cogent. It rests on an unwarranted assumption. It is true that the removal of dead bodies was *unnecessary* when the regular inner stage was in use, since it could be curtained off, but it does not at all follow that the removal was therefore always *undesirable*. In *Othello* there would be no dramatic gain, and some loss, in such a removal, so the tragic lodging of the bed is covered, and Othello is left alone with his wife and her faithful attendant. But in *Antony and Cleopatra* there is every possible reason why 'royal Egypt' should pass from the stage, like Hamlet, with full ceremonial honours, and there is neither mechanical nor any other reason why the bearers should not start as well from the inner as from the outer stage. Dover Wilson, driven by his fixed idea, takes Cæsar's words near the end (v ii 354-5) 'Take up her bed, And bear her women from the monument' and comments 'This instruction proves that the deaths take place on the outer stage'. Clearly the instruction *proves* nothing of the kind, and unless the whole stage, outer as well as inner, is by now to be thought of as inside the monument, it *implies* exactly the reverse.

Anyhow, the presence or absence of the temporary structure is irrelevant to the end of the play, except in so far as its presence would be a practical nuisance for the producer in staging the final procession. Would its presence help at any other point in either scene? I think not. (a) There is one point in iv xv where it might at first sight seem to help, and oddly enough Dover Wilson does not adduce this, by far the strongest bit of supporting evidence which the text offers him. At line 8 Diomedes says 'Look out o' the other side your monument'. It is quite true that a structure such as Dover Wilson posits would have more obviously an 'other side' than the permanent 'above'. But I think that this is more than counterbalanced by the fact that the entry of the guard with Antony would be obscured from some of the audience. And there is no real difficulty in staging the episode with the existing stage. Diomedes enters by one door, and talks up to Cleopatra standing at one end of 'above'. On Diomedes' direction she moves to the other end and sees Antony, who has been carried in by the other door. (b) The *ad hoc* structure would, so far as I can see, do less than nothing to help with some supposed difficulties in the earlier part

of v 11, and in any case these difficulties are more apparent than real. Let us, for the moment neglecting North, examine what happens, according to F. In the first sixty-four lines of the scene, down to the entry of Dolabella, there are no stage-directions except for the entry of Cleopatra, Charmian, Iras, and Mardian at the opening, and of Proculeius at line 8. Cleopatra and her attendants are perhaps on the inner stage, and she talks to Proculeius, who enters on the outer stage. At one point two successive speeches (lines 32-4, 'This I'll report caus'd it' and lines 35-6, 'You see Cæsar come') are both credited to Proculeius, the speech-heading *Pro* being repeated, and it is moderately certain that the second of these should be attributed to someone else, presumably (see later) Gallus. At line 35, while listening to Proculeius, Cleopatra is taken unawares by the entry of Cæsar's men behind her, she attempts to stab herself and is prevented by Proculeius. There is no indication in the text where the 'guards' have come from, nor does it particularly matter. It is natural, though not essential, to suppose from earlier indications that Cleopatra is locked in her monument (this is explicit in North, but I am trying for the moment to do without North), and that therefore there is a barred gate across the opening of the inner stage, through which she talks to Proculeius, and which the guard after their entry unbar from inside so that Proculeius can enter. That, I think, is all fairly plain sailing, though no doubt some stage-directions from Shakespeare would have made it plainer. The early editors, beginning with Theobald, followed by Warburton and Johnson, and later elaborated by Malone, vexed in particular by the unaccounted for appearance of the guard, went to work to remedy Shakespeare's (or F's) omissions, and called North to their aid. Here is North (see p. 282)

For Proculeius came to the gates that were very thicke and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes through the which her voyce might be heard, and so they without understoode, that Cleopatra demaunded the kingdome of Ægypt for her sonnes and that Proculeius aunswered her, that she should be of good cheere, and not be affrayed to referre all unto Cæsar. After he had viewed the place verie well, he came and reported her aunswere unto Cæsar. Who immediately sent Gallus to speake once againe with her, and bad him purposely hold her with talke, whilst Proculeius did set up a ladder against that highe windowe, by the which Antonius was trised up, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where Cleopatra stoode to heare what Gallus sayd unto her. One of her women which was shut in her monuments with her, saw Proculeius by chaunce as he came downe,

and shrieked out O, poore Cleopatra, thou art taken Then when she sawe Proculeius behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed her selfe in with a short dagger she ware of purpose by her side But Proculeius came sodainly upon her, and taking her by both the hands, said unto her

From this Hanmer brought in Gallus along with Proculeius at line 8, and at line 35 Theobald read *Here Gallus, and Guard, ascend the Monument by a Ladder, and enter at a back-window*, and Malone *Here Proculeius, and two of the guard, ascend the Monument by a Ladder placed against a window, and having descended, come behind Cleopatra Some of the guard unbar and open the gates* Now the first thing to be observed about these directions, whatever their intrinsic merits, and whether it is to be Gallus or Proculeius who leads the storming party, is that, if they are placed where their authors placed them, there is no time for these scaling-ladder operations They would take an appreciable time, during which Cleopatra must be held in talk by someone—in North it is Gallus, but Shakespeare, compressing two episodes into one, has committed himself to Proculeius Dover Wilson, seeing this, greatly improves matters as follows at line 9, *Enter PROCULEIUS As he speaks with CLEOPATRA through the bars, GALLUS and soldiers enter, unseen by those within, mount to the top with ladders, and go down into the monument*, and after line 34, *The doors are suddenly flung open, showing a richly furnished room, with GALLUS and soldiers standing behind CLEOPATRA and her women*

Gallus You see how easily

Now, if Gallus and the guard have to come on to the outer stage at all, that is the way to do it They have plenty of time to get into the monument, and the audience has the pleasure of suspense while it waits for their appearance behind Cleopatra And for this entry the temporary monument would be undeniably convenient It is true that the unobserved escalade could be conducted on the ordinary stage, so long as Cleopatra and her attendants were kept well back on the inner stage, since to an actor even four or five feet back on the inner stage there are two segments of the outer stage which are invisible But it would, I think, be unconvincing, whereas if conducted at the rear or one side of the hypothetical structure it would be natural enough

But is there any reason for having Gallus and the guard on the stage at all until their sudden entry at lines 34-5? If not, F's entry for Proculeius alone at line 8 is justified, and we get rid at one sweep of most of the elaborate additions to the stage-directions All we need will be at line 34, *Gallus and three or four soldiers enter behind Cleopatra* (and we may have to add *and unbar the gate*, to allow Procu-

leus to enter the inner stage, but this is a point to be considered later) The sudden irruption is effective, it has the advantage of making line 35 (otherwise a trifle awkward) more natural, as a sort of 'cover' line, explaining their arrival, and the audience will simply assume that they have broken in somewhere at the back of the monument It is worth quoting some excellent common sense from Furness 'I have not quoted in the Textual notes all the stage-directions given by the early editors in their vain reachings after those which would satisfy all requirements, nor have I recorded all the minor variations of the modern editors For my own part, I see no need of any stage-direction at all It is, at least for me, quite sufficient to see that the Romans rush in and seize the queen In these thrilling moments, how they got in, I neither know nor care Nor does any one in the audience ever know how they entered, and would not know, unless the stage-manager came forward and read aloud Plutarch, or Malone's directions'

We now come to the last main problem in the staging of v 11, one which is of considerable intrinsic importance, and the consideration of which, I think, finally demolishes the temporary structure Where, for the first thirty-five lines of the scene, are Cleopatra and her attendants supposed to be? Malone assumed that they were on the inner stage, with a barred gate across the opening That is all very well for the dialogue with Proculeius, and it is according to North But it is very far from well for Cleopatra's opening speech We do not want that to come from a sort of disembodied voice of an imperfectly visible actress Nor does it make effective the entry of the guard, who would be even less visible Some editors, seeing this difficulty, bring in Cleopatra *aloft* This has, for the moment, obvious advantages It gives Cleopatra a prominent position on the stage, she talks to Proculeius with a barrier between them, though it is one of height, not of a barred gate, and the irruption of the guard—so long as they now appear for the first time—can be made as well on the upper level as on the lower (Some editors who add *aloft* also retain at line 35 the climb of the guard, watched apparently by Cleopatra with quiet interest) But these momentary advantages are paid for too high by difficulties later How does Proculeius arrive where he can prevent Cleopatra's attempt at suicide—unless he joins in the absurd climb of the guard? And at what point does Cleopatra come down from aloft for the scene with Cæsar, which must, I think, occur on the main stage? In any case, this insertion of *aloft* has no authority, and textual evidence is against it, since F's stage-direction for iv xv specifies an entry *aloft*, and as there is no *aloft* in the v 11 stage-

direction it is a reasonable inference that Shakespeare did not intend there to be one, but wished the scene to be played throughout on the lower level, whether or not the inner stage was to be used. The difficulties caused by a gate across the opening of the inner stage have already been glanced at, but consider the much greater difficulties created by a temporary monument. It is, *ex hypothesi*, a square structure, standing in the middle of the stage, with a gate on the side towards the front of the stage. Not only therefore will that part of the audience which faces it see Cleopatra imperfectly (as with the gated inner stage) but about half the audience will not see her at all, but will be looking frustratedly at one or other blank side of the structure. Which, I think, is absurd. The only solution would be to have the structure open—though with bars—on three sides, so that Cleopatra and her attendants would appear like animals in the zoo, or like Bajazeth in *Tamburlaine*. Which is yet more absurd. I think that the structure must be dismantled, along with other ingenious, but not fully thought-out, hypotheses.

If then, we dismiss both an entry aloft and a temporary monument, how is the scene to be presented? There has been an almost universal insistence by editors (except those who make the first entry *aloft*) from Capell downwards that Cleopatra's entry is to a barred inner stage, which is unbarred at line 35. And stage-direction after stage-direction (none of them in F), differing in detail but concurring in general sense, have been devoted to emphasizing this picture. I have pointed out certain weaknesses which this method of staging involves, and I said earlier 'unless the whole stage, outer as well as inner, is by now to be thought of as inside the monument'. I want to hazard the heterodox suggestion that the whole stage should be so thought of, and that if it is many of the difficulties melt into thin air.

Why, then, in the first place, such concurrence of the editors? To this there are, I think, two answers. First, they paid very natural, but excessive, attention to North. It happens that the relevant North passage is not only detailed but pictorially vivid, with the gates very thick and strong, and surely barred, and with their 'cranewes'. And it was naturally felt that Shakespeare, who elsewhere follows North so closely, must have followed him here also, in spite of F. But if Shakespeare had found matter in North which was undramatic or difficult of presentation on his stage, surely he would have jettisoned him without a second thought. (As it is he compresses two episodes of North into one, and the compression has caused part of the editorial troubles.) Second, I think that, accustomed to their own stage with scenery and properties, the

editors failed to reckon with the readiness of the Elizabethan audience to change their imaginative conception of what their bare stage was at any moment supposed to represent. It is quite true that in iv xv 'aloft' is the monument which Cleopatra dare not leave, and the outer stage, on which Antony is carried in, is the outer world. But it does not follow that this must be permanently so. And it is clear that at some point (if not from the start) in v 11 the outer stage has become a room inside the monument. Apart from the scene with Cæsar, which demands a full stage, there is the episode of the 'clown' with the figs, which is, I think, decisive. The F stage-directions are here explicit. Cleopatra is interrupted in her orders to Charmian by '*A noise within*' (i.e. off-stage) '*Enter a Guardsman*', announcing the arrival of 'a rural fellow'. 'Let him come in,' says Cleopatra. '*Exit Guardsman*'. '*Enter Guardsman, and Clowne*'. '*Exit Guardsman*'. The implications are, I think, inescapable. Cleopatra, the means of self-destruction being presumably removed, is under guard in the monument. But the guard is off-stage, not on the outer stage. Therefore the outer stage is now part of a room in the monument.

Suppose we push this conception of 'locality' back to the opening of the scene. Cleopatra and her attendants enter (I think through the curtains of the inner stage, to mark that they come from another room in the monument). She delivers her first speech in full view of the audience. *Enter Proculeus*. Here is, I think, the one real difficulty, a difficulty which some readers may think insuperable. It is that Cleopatra expresses no surprise at his entry. One rather expects her to say, in effect, 'And how, by Isis, did you get in?' I suggest, however, that if one is troubled about the problem at all, which many spectators would not be, one may assume that Cleopatra, hearing that a single emissary has come from Cæsar, has given orders for him to be admitted. (It is reasonable to suppose that Cleopatra still has servants besides her immediate attendants—the Egyptian in v 1 proves that she had at least one—and that some of them were on duty at the outer gates.) This makes it natural enough that he, and not she, opens the conversation, and that she asks as it were for his credentials—what is his name?—with perhaps the hope that he may be the one man whom Antony told her to trust. At line 35 the guards break in from behind, either through the curtains or through the ordinary doors. On these lines the scene plays straightforwardly from beginning to end, and we are relieved of the temptation to add elaborate stage-directions to those of F. Down to the entry of Cæsar at line 110 we need add only the entry of Gallus and the guard at line 34, Gallus's exit at line 36, and perhaps

(though the necessary action is clear from the text) Cleopatra's drawing the dagger and Proculeius' removing it from her

There remains only the minor problem (which has nothing to do with the major one of staging) of Gallus and the muddled speech-heading at line 35. It is, I think, a prime mistake to add Gallus to F's entry of Proculeius alone at line 8. Cæsar's orders to Gallus in v 1 69 come, according to F's stage-direction, after Proculeius' exit, so that Proculeius supposes himself to be the sole emissary. Further, it seems to me flat contrary to the expectation created by Antony's verdict on Proculeius that we should now find him party to a design to capture the queen. Nor do his speeches feel like those of a man dishonestly playing for time, but rather like those of a man honestly presenting his master's attitude. But Gallus must, I think, be introduced somewhere, not because of North, but because Cæsar gave him orders, and it is bad craftsmanship (though Shakespeare is elsewhere guilty of it, as in *Mer V*) to create an expectation which is not fulfilled, and also because we must have someone to take the news to Cæsar (see line 65), and as Gallus enters with Cæsar later it is natural to suppose that he has been the someone. Hence I think it right to cut out the second *Pro* speech-heading for line 35 ('You see how easily') and give the speech to Gallus, but I suggest that the erroneous speech-heading was not just a matter of careless substitution, but rather of the transference of a proper name from text to speech-heading, and that the lines should run thus

<i>Pro</i>	This I'll report, dear lady	
	Have comfort, for I know your plight is pitied	
	Of him that caus'd it	<i>Enter Gallus and guard behind</i>
<i>Gall</i>		<i>Proculeius,</i>
	You see how easily she may be surpris'd	
	Guard her till Cæsar come	<i>Exit Gallus</i>

v 11 231, 278, *stage-directions* Since F has no stage-directions, editors are free to insert what they consider most consonant with the text and theatrically effective. It has been universally accepted that Capell was right in leaving Charmian on the stage. I am doubtful whether this was Shakespeare's intention and I am sure that the point is profitably arguable, since the determination of it makes a considerable difference to a dramatic moment in the play.

The argument for Iras' exit alone must rest entirely on Cleopatra's words in lines 225-31, and possibly on line 282. (Between lines 232 and 278 there is nothing in the text to indicate whether Charmian is present or absent, nor anything in line 279 to indicate

whether the re-entry is of one or both attendants) Now it is true that Iras alone is specifically ordered to 'go' (line 228), and that if we take F's brackets in line 229 to indicate a *parenthesis* the 'thou' in line 230 must be addressed to Iras, and further that if 'yare' is taken to mean no more than 'quick' the first five words of line 282 may be taken as no more than a somewhat repetitive direction to Iras to bring robe and crown more quickly from the entry door to where Cleopatra is standing

But let us examine the two passages a little more in detail In the first place, if lines 225-6 stood alone no one would have had any hesitation

Show me, my women, like a queen go fetch
My best attires

is clearly an instruction to *both* her attendants to bring all her royal array, and editors would inevitably, and rightly, have inserted after it, *Exeunt Charmian and Iras* It also creates the expectation that if there are to be further instructions they will be addressed to both attendants, and not to one only And so I think they are It will be noticed, by the way, that if 'thou' in line 230 is Iras, the half-ironic effectiveness of the echo in line 317 (Charmian's 'Your crown's awry, I'll mend it, and then play') is sadly weakened As to 'Yare, yare, good Iras, quick', I doubt whether it is relevant one way or the other 'Yare', I think, has almost never the meaning merely of 'quick', there is a notion of deftness as well as that of speed (A ship that is yare is one that is easily manœuvrable, not so much a fast sailer, but quick on the helm, see III vii 38 of this play, and *Tempest*, v 1 226 But compare especially II ii 211 of this play, 'yarely frame the office') And I take it that the remark to Iras comes after the robing has begun, telling her to show her usual skill in adjusting the robe, and to be quick about it

To return then to the crucial seven lines As to Cleopatra's 'Now, Charmian', we can either follow Capell and others, read a question mark for F's full stop, and take it that Cleopatra is asking whether Charmian has been successful in the mission on which she was despatched at line 195, or take the words as a statement that she knows from Charmian's return that she has been successful and that all is in order The first is perhaps a trifle the more effective, but I doubt whether the emendation is justified The real crux is F's brackets, which certainly mean something, and cannot just be neglected and replaced by commas, as is mostly done (though it would, of course, greatly strengthen my case if they could) I think that they represent not a grammatical *parenthesis*, but an *aside*,

addressed to Charmian alone, apropos her confidential mission to secure the asps, and followed up, as she waves Charmian to follow Iras, by the rest of the speech aloud, but addressed to Charmian

Here, along these lines, is the passage with full stage-directions, giving first the alternative with Capell's emendation

Cleo Now, Charmian?
Charmian nods

(triumphant) Show me

or

Cleo (knowing from Charmian's return that all is ready, and exultant)
Show me, my women, like a queen go fetch
My best attires I am again for Cydnus,
To meet Mark Antony Sirrah Iras, go
Iras moves towards the door
(sotto voce to Charmian) Now, noble Charmian, we'll
dispatch indeed,
(waves Charmian to follow Iras and speaks aloud to her as she moves away)
And when thou hast done this chare, I'll give thee leave
To play till doomsday bring our crown and all
Exeunt Iras and Charmian Cleopatra is left alone
Noise within
Wherefore's this noise?

Cleopatra is thus left alone on the stage for her interview with the clown. This, I think, has two dramatic advantages. First, her few lines (235-40) in which she stiffens her resolution are, I feel, more naturally delivered in soliloquy (like Juliet's before she drinks the drug) than to an audience even of one ('This, I admit, may be countered by saying that Cleopatra likes an audience, and that if I am right this is the only time in the play at which she is even for a moment alone'). Second, her apprehension of interruption, which makes her impatient with the clown (she makes three ineffective attempts to get rid of him) more strongly compels the audience to share it if she is for the moment without the support of even one of her women. And this is perhaps true also of 'Wherefore's this noise?', since she cannot be certain that this is only the arrival of her means of freedom.

Finally, as to the re-entry Cleopatra's 'and all' rather suggests that there is more to be brought than a crown and robe—perhaps more jewels from the regalia—even though later she mentions those only. And I feel that the entry of both her women, equipped to array their mistress for her last imperial exit, is more dignified and more effective than that of a solitary and perhaps somewhat overburdened Iras.

APPENDIX V

EXTRACTS FROM NORTH'S *PLUTARCH*

(1579)

BUT besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house he had a goodly thicke beard, a broad forehead, crooke nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenance, as is commonly seene in Hercules pictures, stamped or graven in mettell Now it had been a speeche of old time, that the familie of the Antonii were discended from one Anton, the sonne of Hercules, whereof the familie tooke name This opinion did Antonius seeke to confirme in all his doings not onely resembling him in the likenes of his bodye, as we have sayd before, but also in the wearing of his garments For when he would openly shewe him selfe abroad before many people, he would alwayes weare his cassocke gyrt downe lowe upon his hippes, with a great sword hanging by his side, and upon that, some ill favored cloke Furthermore, things that seeme intollerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to jeast with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with every body, to sit with the souldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them souldierlike it is incredible what wonderfull love it wanne him amongst them And furthermore, being given to love that made him the more desired, and by that meanes he brought many to love him For he would further every mans love, and also would not be angry that men should merily tell him of those he loved But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and advauncement, was his liberalitie, who gave all to the souldiers, and kept nothing for him selfe and when he was growen to great credit, then was his authoritie and power also very great, the which notwithstanding him selfe did overthrowe by a thowsand other faults he had

Antonius
shape and
presence

The house of
the Antonii
discended
from Her-
cules

Antonius
liberalitie

Afterwards when Pompeys house was put to open sale, Antonius bought it but when they asked him money for it, he made it very straung, and was offended with them, and writeth himself that he would not goe with Cæsar into the warres of Africk, because he was not well recom-

Antonius
byeth Pom-
peys house

Antonius
married
Fulvia,
Clodius
widow
Fulvia ruled
Antonius, at
home, and
abroad

penced for the service he had done him before Yet Cæsar did somewhat bridle his madnes and insolencie, not suffering him to passe his faulte so lightly away, making as though he sawe them not And therefore he left his dissolute manner of life, and married Fulvia that was Clodius widowe, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and housewivery, and was not contented to master her husband at home, but would also rule him in his office abroad, and commaund him, that commaunded legions and great armies so that Cleopatra was to give Fulvia thanks for that she had taught Antonius this obedience to women, that learned so well to be at their commaundement Nowe, bicause Fulvia was somewhat sower, and crooked of condition, Antonius devised to make her pleasaunter, and somewhat better disposed and therefore he would playe her many prety youthfull partes to make her mery

Now thinges remayning in this state at Rome, Octavius Cæsar the younger, came to Rome, who was the sonne of Iulius Cæsars Nece, as you have heard before, and was left his lawfull heire by will, remayning at the tyme of the death of his great Unkle that was slayne, in the cite of Apollonia

Octavius
Cæsar joyned
in friendship
with Cicero

This young Cæsar seeing his doings, went unto Cicero and others, which were Antonius enemies, and by them crept into favor with the Senate and he him self sought the peoples good will every manner of way, gathering together the olde souldiers of the late deceased Cæsar, which were dispersed in divers citie and colonyes Antonius being affrayd of it, talked with Octavius in the capitoll, and became his friend But the very same night Antonius had a straunge dreame, who thought that lightning fell upon him, and burnt his right hand Shortly after word was brought him, that Cæsar lay in waite to kil him Cæsar cleered himselfe unto him, and told him there was no such matter but he could not make Antonius believe the contrary Whereuppon they became further enemies than ever they were insomuch that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old souldiers through Italy, that were

Antonius and
Octavius be-
came friends
Antonius
dreame

dispersed in divers townes and made them large promises, and sought also to winne the legions of their side, which were already in armes Cicero on the other side being at that time the chieftest man of authoritie and estimation in the cite, he stirred up al men against Antonius so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his contry, and appointed young Cæsar Sergeaunts to cary axes before him, and such other signes as were incident to the dignitie of a Consul or Prætor and moreover sent Hircius and Pansa, then Consuls, to drive Antonius out of Italy These two Consuls together with Cæsar, who also had an armye, went against Antonius that beseeged the cite of Modena, and there overthrew him in battell but both the Consuls were slaine there Antonius flying upon this overthrowe, fell into great miserie all at once but the chieftest want of all other, and that pinched him most, was famine Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by pacience he would overcome any adversitie, and the heavier fortune lay upon him, the more constant shewed he him selfe Every man that feleth want or adversitie, knoweth by vertue and discretion what he should doe but when in deede they are overlayed with extremitie, and be sore oppressed, few have the harts to follow that which they praise and commend, and much lesse to avoid that they reprove and mislike But rather to the contrary, they yeld to their accustomed easie life and through faynt hart, and lacke of corage, do chaunge their first mind and purpose And therefore it was a wonderful example to the souldiers, to see Antonius that was brought up in all fineness and superfluitie, so easily to drinke puddle water, and to eate wild frutes and rootes and moreover it is reported, that even as they passed the Alpes, they did eate the barcks of trees, and such beasts, as never man tasted of their flesh before

Antonius
judged an
enemy by
the Senate

Hircius and
Pansa Cons-
uls

Antonius
overthrowen
in battell by
the cite of
Modena
Antonius
patient in
adversitie

Antonius
hardnes in
adversitie,
notwith-
standing his
fine bringing
up

Now the government of these Triumviri grewe odious and hatefull to the Romanes, for divers respects but they most blamed Antonius, because he being elder then Cæsar, and of more power and force than Lepidus, gave him selfe again to his former riot and excesse, when he left to deale in the affaires of the common wealth But setting aside the ill name he had for his insolencie, he was

Antonius
riot in his
Trium-
virate

The praise
of Pompey
the great

yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of Pompey the great a man as famous for his temperaunce, modestie, and civill life, as for his three triumphes For it grieved them to see the gates commonly shut against the Captaines, Magistrates of the citie, and also Ambassadors of straunge nations, which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence and that the house within was full of tombles, anticke dauncers, juglers, players, jeasters, and dronkards, quaffing and goseling, and that on them he spent and bestowed the most parte of his money he got by all kind of possible extorcions, briberie and policie

The valiant-
nes of Anto-
nius against
Brutus

The death
of Cassius

Brutus slue
him selfe

Octavius Cæsar perceiving that no money would serve Antonius turne, he prayed that they might deuide the money betwene them, and so did they also deuide the armie, for them both to goe into Macedon to make warre against Brutus and Cassius and in the meane time they left the government of the citie of Rome unto Lepidus When they had passed over the seas, and that they beganne to make warre, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius, and Cæsar against Brutus Cæsar did no great matter, but Antonius had alway the upper hand, and did all For at the first battell Cæsar was overthrown by Brutus, and lost his campe, and verie hardly saved him selfe by flying from them that followed him Howebeit he writeth himselfe in his *Commentaries*, that he fled before the charge was geven, because of a dreame one of his frends had Antonius on the other side overthrewe Cassius in battell, though some write that he was not there him selfe at the battell, but that he came after the overthrowe, whilest his men had the enemies in chase So Cassius at his earnest request was slaine by a faithfull servaunt of his owne called Pindarus, whom he had infranchised because he knew not in time that Brutus had overcomen Cæsar Shortly after they fought an other battell againe, in the which Brutus was overthrown, who afterwarde also slue him selfe Thus Antonius had the chieftest glorie of all this victorie, specially because Cæsar was sicke at that time

For he understoode not many of the thefts and rob-

beries his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treasure and affaires not so muche because he was carelesse, as for that he over-simply trusted his men in all things For he was a plaine man, without suttletie, and therefore overlate founde out the fowle faultes they committed against him but when he heard of them, he was muche offended, and would plainly confesse it unto them whome his officers had done injurie unto, by countenance of his authoritie He had a noble minde, as well to punish offendors, as to reward well doers and yet he did exceede more in geving, then in punishing Now for his outrageous manner of railing he commonly used, mocking and flouting of everie man that was remedied by it selfe For a man might as boldly exchaunge a mocke with him, and he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mock others But yet it oftentimes marred all For he thought that those which told him so plainly, and truly in mirth would never flatter him in good earnest, in any matter of weight But thus he was easely abused by the praises they gave him, not finding howe these flatterers mingled their flatterie, under this familiar and plaine manner of speach unto him, as a fine devise to make difference of meates with sharpe and tart sauce, and also to kepe him by this franke jeasting and bourding with him at the table, that their common flatterie should not be troublesome unto him, as men do easely mishike to have too muche of one thing and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would geve him place in any matter of waight, and follow his counsell, that it might not appeare to him they did it so muche to please him, but because they were ignorant, and understoode not so much as he did Antonius being thus inclined the last and extreamest mischiefe of all other (to wit, the love of Cleopatra) lighted on him, who did waken and stirre up many vices yet hidden in him, and were never seene to any and if any sparke of goodnesse or hope of rising were left him, Cleopatra quenched it straight, and made it worse then before The manner how he fell in love with her was this Antonius going to make warre with the Parthians, sent to commaunde Cleopatra to appeare personally before him, when he came into Cilicia, to aunswere unto suche accusacions as were layed against her, being thus that she had aided Cassius and Brutus in

Antonius
simplicity

Antonius
maners

Antonius love
to Cleopatra
whom he
sent for into
Cilicia

their warre against him The messenger sent unto Cleopatra to make this summons unto her, was called Dellius who when he had thoroughly considered her beawtie, the excellent grace and sweetnesse of her tongue, he nothing mistrusted that Antonius would doe any hurte to so noble a Ladie, but rather assured him selfe, that within few dayes she should be in great favor with him Thereupon he did her great honour, and perswaded her to come into Cilicia, as honorably furnished as she could possible, and bad her not to be affrayed at all of Antonius, for he was a more curteous Lord, then any that she had everseene Cleopatra on thother side beleiving Dellius wordes, and gessing by the former accesse and credit she had with Julius Cæsar, and Cneus Pompey (the sonne of Pompey the great) only for her bewtie she began to have good hope that she might more easely win Antonius For Cæsar and Pompey knew her when she was but a young thing, and knew not then what the worlde ment but now she went to Antonius at the age when a womans beawtie is at the prime, and she also of best judgement So, she furnished her selfe with a world of gifts, store of gold and silver, and of riches and other sumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough she might bring from so great a house, and from so wealthie and rich a realme as Ægypt was But yet she caried nothing with her wherein she trusted more then in her selfe, and in the charmes and inchauntment of her passing beawtie and grace Therefore when she was sent unto by divers letters, both from Antonius him selfe, and also from his frendes, she made so light of it, and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poope whereof was of gold, the sailes of purple, and the owers of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sounde of the musicke of flutes, howboyes, citherns, violls, and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge And now for the person of her selfe she was layed under a pavillion of cloth of gold of tissue, appparelled and attired like the goddessse Venus, commonly drawn in picture and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes appparelled as painters doe set forth god Cupide, with little fannes in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her Her ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were ap-

The wonder-
full sumptu-
ousnes of
Cleopatra,
Queene of
Ægypt, going
unto
Antonius

Cydnus fl

paralleled like the nymphes Nereides (which are the mer-
 maides of the waters) and like the Graces, some steering
 the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the
 barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull passing
 sweete savor of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes
 side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of people
 Some of them followed the barge all alongest the rivers
 side others also ranne out of the citie to see her comming
 in So that in thend, there ranne such multitudes of
 people one after an other to see her, that Antonius was
 left post alone in the market place, in his Imperiall seate
 to geve audience and there went a rumor in the peoples
 mouthes, that the goddesse Venus was come to play with
 the god Bacchus, for the generall good of all Asia When
 Cleopatra landed, Antonius sent to invite her to supper
 to him But she sent him word againe, he should doe
 better rather to come and suppe with her Antonius
 therefore to shew him selfe curteous unto her at her
 arrivall, was contented to obey her, and went to supper
 to her where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that
 no tongue can expresse it But amongst all other thinges,
 he most wondered at the infinite number of lightes and
 torches hanged on the toppe of the house, geving light in
 everie place, so artificially set and ordered by devises,
 some round, some square that it was the rarest thing to
 behold that eye could discerne, or that ever books could
 mencion The next night, Antonius feasting her, con-
 tended to passe her in magnificence and finenes but she
 overcame him in both So that he him selfe began to
 skorne the grosse service of his house, in respect of Cleo-
 patraes sumptuousnes and finenesse And when Cleo-
 patra found Antonius jeasts and slents to be but grosse,
 and souldier like, in plaine manner she gave it him
 finely, and without feare taunted him throughly Now
 her beawtie (as it is reported) was not so passing, as un-
 matchable of other women, nor yet suche, as upon pre-
 sent viewe did enamor men with her but so sweete was
 her companie and conversacion, that a man could not
 possible but be taken And besides her beawtie, the good
 grace she had to talke and discourse, her curteous nature
 that tempered her words and dedes, was a spurre that
 pricked to the quick Furthermore, besides all these, her
 voyce and words were marvelous pleasant for her tongue

The sumptu-
 ous prepara-
 tions of the
 suppers of
 Cleopatra
 and
 Antonius

Cleopatraes
 beawtie

was an instrument of musicke to divers sports and pastimes, the which she easely turned to any language that pleased her She spake unto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them aunswere her self, or at the least the most parte of them as the Æthiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrues, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned Whereas divers of her progenitors, the kings of Ægypt, could scarce learne the Ægyptian tongue only, and many of them forgot to speake the Macedonian Nowe, Antonius was so ravished with the love of Cleopatra, that though his wife Fulvia had great warres, and much a doe with Cæsar for his affaires, and that the armie of the Parthians (the which the kings Lieutenantes had geven to the onely leading of Labienus) was now assembled in Mesopotamia readie to invade Syria yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yeelded him selfe to goe with Cleopatra into Alexandria, where he spent and lost in childish sports, (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most pretious thing a man can spende, as Antiphon sayth and that is, time For they made an order betwene them, which they called Amimetobion (as much to say, no life comparable and matcheable with it) one feasting ech other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason And for prooffe hereof, I have heard my grandfather Lampryas report, that one Philotas a Physition, born in the cite of Amphissa, told him that he was at that present time in Alexandria, and studied Physicke and that having acquaintance with one of Antonius cookes, he tooke him with him to Antonius house, (being a young man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of only one supper —When he was in the kitchin, and saw a world of diversities of meates, and amongst others, eight wilde boares roasted whole he began to wonder at it, and sayd, Sure you have a great number of ghests to supper The cooke fell a laughing and answered him, No (quoth he) not many ghests, nor above twelve in all but yet all that is boyled or roasted must be served in whole, or else it would be marred straight For Antonius peradventure will suppe presently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hathe

An order set
up by An-
tonius and
Cleopatra
The excessive
expences of
Antonius and
Cleopatra in
Ægypt

Eight wilde
boares roasted
whole

dronke well to day, or else hath had some other great matteis in hand and therefore we do not dresse one supper only, but many suppers, bicause we are uncerteine of the houre he will suppe in

But now againe to Cleopatra Plato wryteth that there are foure kinds of flatterie but Cleopatra devided it into many kinds For she, were it in sport, or in matter of earnest, still devised sundrie new delights to have Antonius at commaundement, never leaving him night or day, nor once letting him go out of her sight For she would play at dyce with him, drinke with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or activity of body And sometime also, when he would goe up and downe the citie disguised like a slave in the night, and would peere into poore mens windowes and their shops, and scold and brawle with them within the house Cleopatra would be also in a chamber maide array, and amble up and downe the streets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare away both mockes and blowes Now, though most men misliked this maner, yet the Alexandrians were commonly glad of this jolity, and liked it well saying verie gallantly, and wisely that Antonius shewed them a commicall face, to wit, a merie countenaunce and the Romanes a tragicall face, to say, a grimme looke But to reckon up all the foolishe sportes they made, revelling in this sorte it were too fond a parte of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angrie as could be, bicause Cleopatra stood by Wherefore he secretly commaunded the fisher men, that when he cast in his line, they should straight dive under the water, and put a fishe on his hooke which they had taken before and so snatched up his angling rodde, and brought up fish twise or thrise Cleopatra found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondred at his excellent fishing but when she was alone by her selfe among her owne people, she told them howe it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing A number of people came to the haven, and got into the fisher boates to see this fishing Antonius then threw in his line and Cleopatra straight commaunded one of her men to dive under

Plato writeth
of foure kinds
of flatterie
Queene of
all flatterers

Antonius
fishing in
Ægypt

The warres
of Lucius
Antonius
and Fulvia,
against
Octavius
Cæsar

The death
of Fulvia
Antonius
wife

water before Antonius men, and to put some old salte fish upon his baite, like unto those that are brought out of the contrie of Pont When he had hong the fish on his hooke, Antonius thinking he had taken a fishe in deede, snatched up his line presently Then they all fell a laughing Cleopatra laughing also, said unto him Leave us (my Lord) Ægyptians (which dwell in the contry of Pharus and Canobus) your angling rodd this is not thy profession thou must hunt after conquering of realmes and contries Nowe Antonius delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, verie ill newes were brought him from two places The first from Rome, that his brother Lucius, and Fulvia his wife, fell out first betwene them selves, and afterwards fell to open warre with Cæsar, and had brought all to nought, that they were both driven to fle out of Italie The second newes, as bad as the first that Labienus conquered all Asia with the armie of the Parthians, from the river of Euphrates, and from Syria, unto the contries of Lydia and Ionia Then began Antonius with much a doe, a litle to rouse him selfe as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe sleepe, and as a man may say, comming out of a great drunkennes So, first of all he bent him selfe against the Parthians, and went as farre as the contrie of Phœnicia but there he received lamentable letters from his wife Fulvia Whereuppon he straight returned towards Italie with two hundred saile and as he went, tooke up his frendes by the way that fled out of Italie, to come to him By them he was informed, that his wife Fulvia was the only cause of this warre who being of a peevish, crooked, and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this uprore in Italie, in hope thereby to withdraw him from Cleopatra But by good fortune, his wife Fulvia going to meete with Antonius, sickened by the way, and dyed in the citie of Sicyone and therefore Octavius Cæsar, and he were the easelier made frendes together For when Antonius landed in Italie, and that men saw Cæsar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other side layed all the fault and burden on his wife Fulvia the frendes of both parties would not suffer them to unrippe any old matters, and to prove or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this warre, fearing to make matters worse betwene them but they made them frendes together, and

devided the Empire of Rome betwene them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their division For they gave all the provinces Eastward, unto Antonius and the countries Westward, unto Cæsar and left Africke unto Lepidus and made a law, that they three one after another should make their frendes Consuls, when they would not be them selves This seemed to be a sound councell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bonde, which fortune offered thus There was Octavia the eldest sister of Cæsar, not by one mother, for she came of Ancharia, and Cæsar him self afterwards of Accia It is reported, that he dearly loved his sister Octavia, for in deede she was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband Caius Marcellus, who dyed not long before and it seemed also that Antonius had bene widower ever since the death of his wife Fulvia For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, but so did he not confesse that he had her as his wife and so with reason he did defend the love he bare unto this Ægyptian Cleopatra Thereuppon everie man did set forward this marriage, hoping thereby that this Ladie Octavia, having an excellent grace, wisdom, and honestie, joined unto so rare a beawtie, that when she were with Antonius (he loving her as so worthy a Ladie deserveth) she should be a good meane to keepe good love and amitie betwext her brother and him So when Cæsar and he had made the matche betwene them, they both went to Rome about this marriage, although it was against the law, that a widow should be married within tenne monethes after her husbandes death Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the marriage proceeded accordingly Sextus Pompeius at that time kept in Sicilia, and so made many an inrode into Italie with a great number of pynnasies and other pirates shippes, of the which were Captaines two notable pirats, Menas, and Menecrates, who so scoored all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peepe out with a sayle Furthermore, Sextus Pompeius had delt verie frendly with Antonius, for he had curteously received his mother, when she fled out of Italie with Fulvia and therefore they thought good to make peace with him So they met all three together by the mount of Misena, upon a hill that runneth farre into the sea Pompey having his shippes ryding hard by at ancker, and Antonius and Cæsar their

All the Empire of Rome devided be twene the Triumviri

Octavia, the halfe sister of Octavius Cæsar, and daughter of Ancharia which was not Cæsar's mother

A lawe at Rome for maryng of widowes Antonius married Octavia, Octavius Cæsar's halfe sister

Antonius and Octavius Cæsar, doe make peace with Sextus Pompeius

Sextus Pompeius taunt
to Antonius

Sextus Pompeius being
offered wonderfull great
fortune
for his
honestie and
faithes sake,
refused it

armies upon the shoare side, directly over against him Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should have Sicile and Sardinia, with this condicon that he should ridde the sea of all theeves and pirats, and make it safe for passengers, and withall that he should send a certaine [quantity] of wheate to Rome one of them did feast an other, and drew cuts who should beginne It was Pompeius chaunce to invite them first Whereupon Antonius asked him And where shall we suppe ? There, said Pompey, and shewed him his admirall galley which had six bankes of owers That (sayd he) is my fathers house they have left me He spake it to taunt Antonius, because he had his fathers house, that was Pompey the great So he cast ankers enowe into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then built a bridge of wodde to convey them to his galley, from the heade of mount Misena and there he welcomed them, and made them great cheere Now in the middest of the feast, when they fell to be merie with Antonius love unto Cleopatra Menas the pirate came to Pompey, and whispering in his eare, said unto him Shall I cut the gables of the ankers, and make thee Lord not only of Sicile and Sardinia, but of the whole Empire of Rome besides ? Pompey having pawsed a while upon it, at length aunswered him Thou should'est have done it, and never told it me, but now we must content us with that we have As for my selfe, I was never taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor The other two also did likewise feast him in their campe, and then he returned into Sicile Antonius after this agreement made, sent Ventidius before into Asia to stay the Parthians, and to keepe them they should come no further and he him selfe in the meane time, to gratefie Cæsar, was contented to be chosen Iulius Cæsars priest and sacrificer, and so they joyntly together dispatched all great matters, concerning the state of the Empire But in all other maner of sportes and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other Antonius was ever inferior unto Cæsar, and always lost, which grieved him much With Antonius there was a soothsayer or astronomer of Ægypt, that coulde cast a figure, and judge of mens nativities, to tell them what should happen to them He, either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he founde it so by his art, told Antonius

plainly that his fortune (which of it selfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether bleamished and obscured by Cæsars fortune and therefore he counselled him utterly to leave his company, and to get him as farre from him as he could For thy Demon, said he, (that is to say, the good angell and spirit that kepeth thee), is affraied of his and being coragious and high when he is alone, becometh fearefull and tumerous when he commeth neere unto the other Howsoever it was, the events ensuing proved the Ægyptians words true For, it is said, that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who should have any thing, or whether they played at dice, Antonius alway lost Oftentimes when they were disposed to see cocke-fight, or quailes that were taught to fight one with an other Cæsars cockes or quailes did ever overcome The which spighted Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward shew of it and therefore he beleved the Ægyptian the better In fine, he recommended the affaires of his house unto Cæsar, and went out of Italie with Octavia his wife, whom he caried into Græce, after he had had a daughter by her So Antonius lying all the winter at Athens, newes came unto him of the victories of Ventidius, who had overcome the Parthians in battel, in the which also were slaine, Labienus, and Pharnabates, the chieftest Captaine king Orodes had For these good newes he feasted all Athens, and kept open house for all the Græcians, and many games of price were played at Athens, of the which he him selfe would be judge

Antonius told by a Sooth-sayer, that his fortune was inferior unto Octavius Cæsar

Antonius unfortunate in sport and earnest, against Octavius Cæsar

Orodes king of Parthia

In the meane time, Ventidius once againe overcame Pacorus, (Orodes sonne king of Parthia) in a battell fought in the contrie of Cyrrestica, he being come againe with a great armie to invade Syria at which battell was slaine a great number of the Parthians, and among them Pacorus, the kings owne sonne slaine This noble exployt as famous as ever any was, was a full revenge to the Romanes, of the shame and losse they had received before by the death of Marcus Crassus and he made the Parthians flie, and glad to kepe them selves within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia, and Media after they had thrise together bene overcome in severall battells Howbeit Ventidius durst not undertake to follow

Ventidius notable victorie of the Parthians

The death of Pacorus, the king of Parthiaes sonne

them any further, fearing least he should have gotten Antonius displeasure by it

Ventidius
the only man
of the Ro-
manes, that
triumphed
for the
Parthians

Canidius
conquests

Newe dis-
pleasures
betwext An-
tonius and
Octavius
Cæsar

The wordes
of Octavia
unto
Mæcenus
and Agrippa

Ventidius was the only man that ever triumphed of the Parthians untill this present day, a meane man borne, and of no noble house nor family who only came to that he attained unto, through Antonius frendshippe, the which delivered him happie occasion to achieve to great matters And yet to say truely, he did so well quit him selfe in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Cæsar to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by them selves For Sossius, one of Antonius Lieutenautes in Syria, did notable good service and Canidius, whom he had also left his Lieutenant in the borders of Armenia, did conquer it all So did he also overcome the kinges of the Iberians and Albanians, and went on with his conquests unto mount Caucasus By these conquests, the fame of Antonius power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull unto all the barbarous nations But Antonius notwithstanding grewe to be marvelously offended with Cæsar, upon certaine reportes, that had bene brought unto him and so tooke sea to go towards Italie with three hundred saile And bicause those of Brundusium, would not receive his armie into their haven, he went further unto Tarentum There his wife Octavia that came out of Græce with him, besought him to send her unto her brother the which he did Octavia at that time was great with child, and moreover had a second daughter by him, and yet she put her selfe in jorney, and met with her brother Octavius Cæsar by the way, who brought his two chiefe frendes, Mæcenus and Agrippa with him She tooke them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not suffer her that was the happiest woman of the world, to become nowe the most wretched and unfortunatest creature of all other For now, said she, everie mans eyes doe gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the Emperours and wife of the other And if the worst councill take place, (which the goddes forbidde) and that they growe to warres for your selves, it is uncertaine to which of them two the goddes have assigned the victorie, or over

throwe But for me, on which side soever victorie fall, my state can be but most miserable still These words of Octavia so softned Cæsars harte, that he went quickly unto Tarentum But it was a noble sight for them that were present, to see so great an armie by lande not to sturre, and so many shippes aflote in the roade, quietly and safe and furthermore, the meeting and kindenesse of frendes, lovinglie imbracing one an other First, Antonius feasted Cæsar, which he graunted unto for his sisters sake Afterwardes they agreed together, that Cæsar should geve Antonius two legions to go against the Parthians and that Antonius should let Cæsar have a hundred gallies armed with brasen spures at the prooes Besides all this, Octavia obteyned of her husbände, twentie brigantines for her brother and of her brother for her husbände, a thowsande armed men After they had taken leave of eache other, Cæsar went immediately to make warre with Sextus Pompeius, to gette Sicilia into his handes Antonius also leaving his wife Octavia and litle children begotten of her, with Cæsar, and his other children which he had by Fulvia he went directlie into Asia Then beganne this pestilent plague and mischiefe of Cleopatraes love (which had slept a longe tyme, and seemed to have bene utterlie forgotten, and that Antonius had geven place to better counsell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, so soone as Antonius came neere unto Syria And in the ende, the horse of the minde as Plato termeth it, that is so hard of rayne (I meane the unreyned lust of concupiscence) did put out of Antonius heade, all honest and commendable thoughtes for he sent Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra into Syria Unto whome, to welcome her, he gave no trifling things but unto that she had already, he added the provinces of Phoenicia, those of the nethermost Syria, the Ile of Cyprus, and a great parte of Cilicia, and that contry of Iurie where the true balme is, and that parte of Arabia where the Nabatheians doe dwell, which stretcheth out towards the Ocean These great giftes muche misliked the Romanes But now, though Antonius did easely geve away great seigniories, realmes, and mighty nations unto some private men, and that also he tooke from other kings their lawfull realmes (as from Antigonus king of the Iewes, whom he openly beheaded, where never king

Octavia
pacifieth the
quarrell be-
twixt An-
tonius, and
her brother
Octavius
Cæsar

Plato calleth
concupis-
cence the
horse of the
minde

Antonius
sent for
Cleopatra
into Syria
Antonius
gave great
provinces
unto
Cleopatra

Antigonus
king of Iurie,
the first king
beheaded by
Antonius

Antonius
twinnes by
Cleopatra,
and their
names

before had suffred like death) yet all this did not so much offend the Romanes, as the unmeasurable honors which he did unto Cleopatra. But yet he did much more aggravate their malice and ill wil towards him, because that Cleopatra having brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter, he named his sonne Alexander, and his daughter Cleopatra, and gave them to their surnames, the Sunne to the one, and the moone to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloke his shamefull deedes with fine words, said that the greatnes and magnificence of the Empire of Rome appeared most, not where the Romanes tooke, but where they gave much and nobility was multiplied amongst men, by the posterity of kings, when they left of their seede in divers places and that by this meanes his first auncestor was begotten of Hercules, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity, in the wombe of one only woman, fearing Solons lawes, or regarding the ordinances of men touching the procreacion of children but that he gave it unto nature, and established the fundacion of many noble races and families in divers places

Octavia,
Antonius'
wife, came
to Athens to
meete with
him

Now whilst Antonius was busie in this preparation, Octavia his wife, whome he had left at Rome, would needes take sea to come unto him. Her brother Octavius Cæsar was willing unto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors doe report) as for that he might have an honest culler to make warre with Antonius if he did mis-use her, and not esteeme of her as she ought to be. But when she was come to Athens, she received letters from Antonius, willing her to stay there untill his comming, and did advertise her of his journey and determination. The which though it grieved her much, and that she knewe it was but an excuse yet by her letters to him of answer, she asked him whether he would have those thinges sent unto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparell for souldiers, a great number of horse, summe of money, and gifts, to bestow on his friendes and Captaines he had about him and besides all those, she had two thousand souldiers chosen men, all well armed, like unto the Prætors bands. When Niger, one of Antonius friends whome he had sent unto Athens, had brought these newes from his wife Octavia, and

withall did greatly prayse her, as she was worthy, and well deserved Cleopatra knowing that Octavia would have Antonius from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and honest behavior, (besides the great power of her brother Cæsar) she did adde thereunto her modest kind of love to please her husband, that she would then be too stronge for her, and in the end winne him away she suttelly seemed to languish for the love of Antonius, pyning her body for lacke of meate Furthermore, she every way so framed her countenaunce, that when Antonius came to see her, she cast her eyes upon him, like a woman ravished for joy Straight againe when he went from her, she fell a weeping and blubbering, looked rufully of the matter, and still found the meanes that Antonius should oftentimes finde her weeping and then when he came sodainely uppon her, she made as though she dyled her eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were unwilling that he should see her weepe All these tricks she used, Antonius being in readines to goe into Syria, to speake with the king of Medes Then the flatterers that futhered Cleopatraes mind, blamed Antonius, and tolde him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had small love in him, that would see a poore Ladye in such torment for his sake, whose life depended onely upon him alone For, Octavia, sayd they, that was maryed unto him as it were of necessitie, bicause her brother Cæsars affayres so required it hath the honor to be called Antonius lawefull spowse and wife and Cleopatra, being borne a Queene of so many thowsands of men, is onely named Antonius Leman, and yet that she disdayned not so to be called, if it might please him she might enjoy his company, and live with him but if he once leave her, that then it is impossible she should live To be short, by these their flatteries and enticements, they so wrought Antonius effeminate mind, that fearing least she would make her selfe away he returned againe unto Alexandria, and referred the king of Medes to the next yeare following, although he receyved newes that the Parthians at that tyme were at civill warres amonge them selves This notwithstanding, he went afterwarde and made peace with him For he married his Daughter which was very younge, unto one of the sonnes that Cleopatra had by him and then returned, beeing fully

The flickering
enticements
of Cleopatra
unto
Antonius

The occasion
of civil warres
betwixt An-
tonius and
Cæsar

The love of
Octavia to
Antonius
her husband,
and her wise
and womanly
behavior

Antonius
arrogantly
devideth
divers
provinces
unto his
children by
Cleopatra

Cæsarion, the
supposed sone
of Cæsar, by
Cleopatra
Alexander
and Ptolomy,
Antonius
sonnes by
Cleopatra

bent to make warre with Cæsar When Octavia, was returned to Rome from Athens, Cæsar commaunded her to goe out of Antonius house, and to dwell by her selfe, because he had abused her Octavia aunswered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her for sayd she, it were too shamefull a thinge, that two so famous Captaines should bringe in civill warres among the Romanes, the one for the love of a woman, and the other for the jealousy betwixt one an other Now as she spake the worde, so did she also performe the deede For she kept still in Antonius house, as if he had bene there, and very honestly and honorably kept his children, not those onely she had by him, but the other which her husband had by Fulvia Furthermore, when Antonius sent any of his men to Rome, to sue for any office in the common wealth she received him very curteously, and so used her selfe unto her brother, that she obtained the thing she requested Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did Antonius great hurt For her honest love and regard to her husband, made every man hate him, when they sawe he did so unkindly use so noble a Lady but yet the greatest cause of their malice unto him, was for the division of lands he made amongst his children in the citie of Alexandria And to confesse a troth, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in derision and contempt of the Romanes For he assembled all the people in the show place, where younge men doe exercise them selves, and there upon a high tribunall silvered, he set two chayres of gold, the one for him selfe, and the other for Cleopatra, and lower chaires for his children then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish Cleopatra Queene of Ægypt, of Cyprus, of Lydia, and of the lower Syria, and at that time also, Cæsarion king of the same Realmes This Cæsarion was supposed to be the sonne of Iulius Cæsar, who had left Cleopatra great with child Secondly he called the sonnes he had by her, the kings of kings, and gave Alexander for his portion, Armenia, Media and Parthia, when he had conquered the contry and unto Ptolomy for his portion, Phenicia, Syria, and Cilicia And therewithall he brought out Alexander in a

long gowne after the facion of the Medes, with a high copped tanke hat on his head, narrow in the toppe, as the kings of the Medes and Armenians doe use to weare them and Ptolomy appparelled in a cloke after the Macedonian manner, with slippers on his feete, and a broad hat, with a royall band or diademe Such was the apparell and old attyre of the auncient kinges and successors of Alexander the great So after his sonnes had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother presently a company of Armenian souldiers set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of the Macedonians the other Now for Cleopatra, she did not onely weare at that time (but at all other times els when she came abroad) the apparell of the goddessse Isis, and so gave audience unto all her subjects, as a new Isis Octavius Cæsar reporting all these thinges unto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in Rome he thereby stirred up all the Romanes against him Antonius on thother side sent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chiefest poyntes of his accusations he charged him with, were these First, that having spoyle Sextus Pompeius in Sicile, he did not give him his parte of the Ile Secondly, that he did deteyne in his hands the shippes he lent him to make that warre Thirdly, that having put Lepidus their companion and triumvirate out of his part of the Empire, and having deprived him of all honors he retayned for him selfe the lands and revenues thereof, which had bene assigned unto him for his part And last of all, that he had in manner devided all Italy amongst his owne souldiers, and had left no part of it for his souldiers Octavius Cæsar aunswered him againe that for Lepidus, he had in deede deposed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, because he did overcruelly use his authoritie And secondly, for the conquests he had made by force of armes, he was contented Antonius should have his part of them, so that he would likewise let him have his part of Armenia And thirldy, that for his souldiers, they should seeke for nothing in Italy, because they possessed Media and Parthia, the which provinces they had added to the Empire of Rome, valiantly fighting with their Emperor and Captaine Antonius hearing these newes, being yet in Armenia, commaunded Cani-

Accusasion,
betwixt Oc-
tavius Cæsar
and
Antonius

Antonius
came with
eight
hundred
saile against
Octavius
Cæsar

Antonius
callieth Cleo-
patra with
him to the
warres,
against Oc-
tavius Cæsar
and kept
great feasting
at the Ile of
Samos to-
gether

dus to goe presently to the sea side with his sixteene legions he had and he him selfe with Cleopatra, went unto the cite of Ephesus, and there gathered together his gallies and shippes out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great shippes of burden and of those, Cleopatra furnished him with two hundred, and twenty thowsand talents besides, and provision of vittells also to mainteyne al the whole army in this warre So Antonius, through the perswasions of Domitius, commaunded Cleopatra to returne againe into Ægypt, and there to understand the successe of this warre But Cleopatra, fearing least Antonius should againe be made friends with Octavius Cæsar, by the meanes of his wife Octavia she so plyed Canidius with money, and filled his purse, that he became her spokes man unto Antonius, and told him there was no reason to send her from this warre, who defraied so great a charge neither that it was for his profit, bicause that thereby the Ægyptians would then be utterly discouraged, which were the chieftest strength of the army by sea considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederats, that Cleopatra was inferiour unto, either for wisdom or judgment, seeing that longe before she had wisely governed so great a realme as Ægypt, and besides she had bene so long acquainted with him, by whom she had learned to manedge great affayres These fayer perswasions wan him for it was predestined that the government of all the world should fall into Octavius Cæsars handes Thus, all their forces being joyned together, they hoysed sayle towards the Ile of Samos, and there gave them selves to feasts and sollace For as all the kings, Princes, and communaltes, peoples and cities from Syria, unto the marishes Mæotides, and from the Armenians to the Illyrians, were sent unto, to send and bringe all munition and warlike preparation they could even so all players, minstrells, tumblers, fooles, and jeasters, were commaunded to assemble in the Ile of Samos So that, where in manner all the world in every place was full of lamentations, sighes and teares onely in this Ile of Samos there was nothing for many dayes space, but singing and pyping, and all the Theater full of these common players, minstrells, and singing men Besides all this, every cite sent an oxe thither to sacrifice,

and kings did strive one with another who should make the noblest feasts, and give the richest gifts So that every man sayd, What can they doe more for joy of victorie, if they winne the battell? when they make already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the warre?

Furthermore, Titus and Plancus (two of Antonius chiefest friends and that had bene both of them Consuls) for the great injuries Cleopatra did them, because they hindered all they could, that she should not come to this warre they went and yelded them selves unto Cæsar, and tolde him where the testament was that Antonius had made, knowing perfittly what was in it The will was in the custodie of the Vestall Nunnes of whom Cæsar demaunded for it They aunswered him, that they would not give it him but if he would goe and take it, they would not hinder him Thereuppon Cæsar went thither, and having red it first to him self, he noted certaine places worthy of reproch so assembling all the Senate, he red it before them all Whereuppon divers were marvelously offended, and thought it a straunge matter that he being alive, should be punished for that he had appoynted by his will to be done after his death Cæsar chiefly tooke hold of this that he ordeyned touching his buriall for he willed that his bodie, though he dyed at Rome, should be brought in funerall pompe through the middest of the market place, and that it should be sent into Alexandria unto Cleopatra

Titus and Plancus revolt from Antonius, and doe yeld to Cæsar

Nowe, after Cæsar had made sufficient preparation, he proclaymed open warre against Cleopatra, and made the people to abolishe the power and Empire of Antonius, because he had before given it uppe unto a woman And Cæsar sayde furthermore, that Antonius was not Maister of him selfe, but that Cleopatra had brought him beside him selfe, by her charmes and amorous poysons and that they that should make warre with them should be Mardian the Euenuke, Photinus, and Iras, a woman of Cleopatras bedchamber, that friseled her heare, and dressed her head, and Charmion, the which were those that ruled the affaires of Antonius Empire

Antonius Empire taken from him

The Admirall galley of Cleopatra, was called Anto-

An ill signe,
foreshewed
by swallowes
breeding in
Cleopatraes
shippe
Antonius
power against
Oct Cæsar

Antonius had
eyght kings,
and their
power to
ayde him

The army
and power
of Octavius
Cæsar
against
Antonius
Antonius
dominions
Octavius
Cæsars
dominions

Antonius too
much ruled
by Cleopatra

made, in the which there chaunced a marvelous ill signe
Swallowes had bred under the poope of her shippe, and
there came others after them that drave away the first,
and plucked downe their neasts Now when all things
were ready, and that they drew neare to fight it was
found that Antonius had no lesse then five hundred good
ships of warre, among the which there were many gallies
that had eight and ten bancks of owers, the which were
sumptuously furnished, not so meete for fight, as for
triumphe a hundred thowsand footemen, and twelve
thowsand horsemen, and had with him to ayde him
these kinges and subjects following Bocchus, king of
Lybia, Tarcondemus king of high Cilicia, Archelaus
king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia,
Mithridates king of Comagena, and Adallas king of
Thracia All the which were there every man in person
The residue that were absent sent their armies, as
Polemon king of Pont, Manchus king of Arabia, Herodes
king of Iury and furthermore, Amyntas king of
Lycaonia, and of the Galatians and besides all these, he
had all the ayde the king of Medes sent unto him Now
for Cæsar, he had two hundred and fifty shippes of
warre, foure score thowsand footemen, and well neare
as many horsemen as his enemy Antonius Antonius for
his part, had all under his dominion from Armenia, and
the river of Euphrates, unto the sea Ionium and Illyri-
cum Octavius Cæsar had also for his part, all that which
was in our Hemisphære, or halfe part of the world, from
Illyria, unto the Occean sea upon the west then all
from the Occean, unto Mare Siculum and from Africk,
all that which is against Italy, as Gaule, and Spayne
Furthermore, all from the province of Cyrenia, unto
Æthiopia, was subject unto Antonius Now Antonius
was made so subject to a womans will, that though he
was a great deale the stronger by land, yet for Cleo-
patraes sake, he would needes have this battell tryed by
sea though he sawe before his eyes, that for lacke of
water men, his Captaines did presse by force all sortes of
men out of Græce that they could take up in the field, as
travellers, muletters, reapers, harvest men, and younge
boys, and yet could they not sufficiently furnishe his
gallies so that the most part of them were empty, and
could scant rowe, bicause they lacked water men enowe

But on the contrary side, Cæsars shippes were not built for pompe, highe, and great, onely for a sight and bravery, but they were light of yarage, armed and furnished with water men as many as they needed, and had them all in readines, in the havens of Tarentum, and Brundisium So Octavius Cæsar sent unto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into Italy and that for his owne part he would give him safe harbor, to lande without any trouble, and that he would withdraw his armie from the sea, as far as one horse could runne, until he had put his army a shore, and had lodged his men Antonius on the other side bravely sent him word againe, and chalenged the combate of him man to man, though he were the elder and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of Pharsalia, as Iulius Cæsar, and Pompey had done before Now whilst Antonius rode at anker, lying idely in harbor at the head of Actium, in the place where the citie of Nicopolis standeth at this present Cæsar had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called Toryne, before Antonius understoode that he had taken shippe Then began his men to be affraid, because his army by land was left behind But Cleopatra making light of it And what daunger, I pray you, said she, if Cæsar keepe at Toryne?*

The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with full force of owers in battell against him, Antonius was affraid that if they came to joyne, they would take and cary away his shippes that had no men of warre in them So he armed all his water men, and set them in order of battell upon the forecastell of their shippes, and then lift up all his rackets of owers towards the element, as well of the one side, as the other, with the prooes against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of Actium, and so kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furnished with water men and souldiers Thus Octavius Cæsar beeing finely deceyved by this stratageame, retyred presently, and therewithall Antonius very wisely and sodainely did cut him of from fresh water For, understanding that the places where Octavius Cæsar landed, had very litle store of water, and yet very bad he shut them in with stronge ditches and trenches he cast, to keepe them from salying

Antonius rode at anker at the head of Actius where the citie of Nicopolis standeth

* The grace of this tawnt can not properly be expressed in any other tongue, because of the equivocation of this word Torvne, which signifieth a citie of Albania, and also, a ladell to scoome the pot with as if she ment, Cæsar sat by the fire side, scomming of the pot

Domitius for-
saketh An-
tonius, and
goeth unto
Octavius
Cæsar

Amyntas, and
Deiotarus do
both revolt
from Anton-
ius, and goe
unto Cæsar

out at their pleasure, and so to goe seeke water further of Furthermore, he delt very friendly and curteously with Domitius, and against Cleopatraes mynde For, he being sicke of an agewe when he went and tooke a litle boate to goe to Cæsars campe, Antonius was very sory for it, but yet he sent after him all his caryage, trayne, and men and the same Domitius, as though he gave him to understand that he repented his open treason, he died immediately after There were certain kings also that forsooke him, and turned on Cæsars side as Amyntas, and Deiotarus Furthermore, his fleete and navy that was unfortunate in all thinges, and unready for service, compelled him to chaunge his minde, and to hazard battell by land And Camdrius, also, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow Antonius determination he turned him cleane contrary, and counselled him to send Cleopatra backe againe, and him selfe to retyre into Macedon, to fight there on the maine land And furthermore told him, that Dicomus king of the Getes, promised him to ayde him with a great power and that it should be no shame nor dishonor to him to let Cæsar have the sea, (bicause him selfe and his men both had bene well practised and exercised in battells by sea, in the warre of Sicilia against Sextus Pompeius) but rather that he should doe against all reason, he having so great skill and experience of battells by land as he had, if he should not employ the force and valliantnes of so many lusty armed footemen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by deviding them into shippes But now, notwithstanding all these good perswasions, Cleopatra forced him to put all to the hazard of battel by sea considering with her selfe how she might flie, and provide for her safetie, not to helpe him to winne the victory, but to flie more easily after the battel lost

So when Antonius had determined to fight by sea, he set all the other shippes a fire, but three score shippes of Ægypt, and reserved onely but the best and greatest gallies, from three bancks, unto tenne bancks of owers Into them he put two and twenty thowsand fighting men, with two thowsand darters and slingers Now, as he was setting his men in order of battel, there was a Captaine, and a valliant man, that had served Antonius in many

battels and conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut who as Antonius passed by him, cryed out unto him, and sayd O noble Emperor, how commeth it to pass that you trust to these vile brittle shippes? what, doe you mistrust these woundes of myne, and this sword? let the Ægyptians and Phænicians fight by sea, and set us on the maine land, where we use to conquer, or to be slayne on our feete Antonius passed by him, and sayd never a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good corage, although in deede he had no great corage him selfe For when the Masters of the gallies and Pilots would have let their sailes alone, he made them clap them on, saying to culler the matter withall, that not one of his enemies should scape All that day, and the three dayes following, the sea rose high, and was so boysterous, that the battel was put of The fift day the storme ceased, and the sea calmed againe, and then they rowed with force of owers in battaile one against the other Antonius leading the right wing with Publicola, and Cælius the left, and Marcus Octavius, and Marcus Iusteius the middest Octavius Cæsar on thother side, had placed Agrippa in the left winge of his armye, and had kept the right winge for him selfe For the armies by lande Canidius was generall of Antonius side, and Taurus of Cæsars side who kept their men in battell raye the one before the other, uppon the sea side, without stirring one agaynst the other

Antonius
regardeth
not the good
counsel of
his souldier

Battail by sea
at Actium,
betwixt An-
tonius and
Octavius

Howbeit the battell was yet of even hand, and the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent to both when sodainly they saw the three score shippes of Cleopatra busie about their yard masts, and hoysing saile to flie So they fled through the middest of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great shippes, and did marvelously disorder the other shippes For the enemies them selves wondred much to see them saile in that sort, with ful saile towards Peloponnesus There Antonius shewed plainly, that he had not onely lost the corage and hart of an Emperor, but also of a valliant man, and that he was not his owne man (proving that true which an old man spake in myrth, that the soule of a lover lived in another body, and not in his owne) he was so caried

Cleopatra
flyeth

The soule of
a lover liveth
in another
body

Antoni^{us}
flyeth after
Cleopatra

away with the vaine love of this woman, as if he had bene glued unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him also For when he saw Cleopatraes shippe under saile, he forgot, forsooke, and betrayed them that fought for him, and imbarked upon a galley with five bankes of owers, to follow her that had already begon to overthrow him, and would in the end be his utter destruction When she knew his galley a farre of, she lift up a signe in the poope of her shippe, and so Antonius comming to it, was pluckt up where Cleopatra was, howbeit he saw her not at this first comming, nor she him, but went and sate down alone in the prow of his shippe, and said never a word, clapping his head betwene both his hands and so lived three days alone, without speaking to any man But when he arrived at the head of Tænarus, there Cleopatraes women first brought Antonius and Cleopatra to speake together, and afterwards, to suppe and lye together Then beganne there agayne a great number of Marchaunts shippes to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this overthrow who brought newes, that his army by sea was overthrown, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole Then Antonius sent unto Canidius, to returne with his army into Asia, by Macedon Now for him self, he determined to crosse over into Africk, and toke one of his carects or hulks loden with gold and silver, and other rich cariage, and gave it unto his friends commaunding them to depart, and to seeke to save them selves They aunswered him weeping, that they would nether doe it, not yet forsake him Then Antonius very curteously and lovingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart and wrote unto Theophilus governor of Corinthe, that he would see them safe, and helpe to hide them in some secret place, until they had made their way and peace with Cæsar This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who was had in great estimation about Antonius He was the first of all his infranchised bondmen that revolted from him, and yelded unto Cæsar, and afterwarde went and dwelt at Corinthe And thus it stode with Antonius Now for his armie by sea, that fought before the head or foreland of Actium they helde out a long tyme, and nothing troubled them more then a great boysterous wind that rose full in the

Antoni^{us}
lycenceth his
friends to
depart, and
giveth them
a shippe
loden with
gold and
silver

prooes of their shippes, and yet with much a doe, his navy was at length overthrowen, five howers within night There were not slaine above five thowsand men but yet there were three hundred shippes taken, as Octavius Cæsar writeth him selfe in his *Commentaries* Many plainely sawe Antonius flie, and yet could hardly beleeeve it, that he that had nyneteene legions whole by lande, and twelve thowsand horsemen upon the sea side, would so have forsaken them, and have fled so cowardly as if he had not oftentimes proved both the one and the other fortune, and that he had not bene throughly acquainted with the divers chaunges and fortunes of battells And yet his souldiers still wished for him, and ever hoped that he would come by some meanes or other unto them Furthermore, they shewed them selves so valliant and faithfull unto him, that after they certainly knewe he was fled, they kept them selves whole together seven daies In the ende Canidius, Antonius Lieutenant, flying by night, and forsaking his campe when they saw them selves thus destitute of their heads and leaders, they yelded themselves unto the stronger

Antonius
navy over-
throwen by
Cæsar

But now to returne to Antonius againe Canidius him selfe came to bring him newes, that he had lost all his armie by land at Actium On thother side he was advertised also, that Herodes king of Iurie, who had also certeine legions and bandes with him, was revolted unto Cæsar, and all the other kings in like manner so that, saving those that were about him, he had none left him All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him, and it seemed that he was contented to forgoe all his hope, and so to be ridde of all his care and troubles Thereupon he left his solitarie house he had built in the sea which he called Timoneon, and Cleopatra received him into her royall pallace He was no sooner comen thither, but he straight set all the city of rioting and banketing againe, and him selfe, to liberalitie and giftes He caused the sonne of Iulius Cæsar and Cleopatra, to be enrolled (according to the maner of the Romanes) amongst the number of young men and gave Antyllus, his eldest sonne he had by Fulvia, the mans gowne, the which was a plaine gowne, without gard or imbroderie of purple For these things, there was kept great feasting, banquet-

Antonius riot-
ing in Alex-
andria after
his great losse
and over-
throw
Toga virilis
Antyllus, the
eldest sonne
of Antonius
by his wife
Fulvia

An order
erected by
Antonius, and
Cleopatra,
called Syna-
pothanu-
menon, re-
voking the
former called
Aminetobion

Cleopatra
verie busie
in proving
the force of
poyson

The property
of the biting
of an Aspick

Antonius and
Cleopatra
send Amba-
sadors unto
Octavius
Cæsar

ing, and dauncing in Alexandria many dayes together In deede they did breake their first order they had set downe, which they called Amimetobion, (as much to say, no life comparable) and did set up an other which they called Synapothanumenon (signifying the order and agreement of those that will dye together) the which in exceeding sumptuousnes and cost was not inferior to the first For their frendes made them selves to be inrolled in this order of those that would dye together, and so made great feastes one to another for everie man when it came to his turne, feasted their whole companie and fraternitie Cleopatra in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all sorts of poysons together to destroy men Now to make prooffe of those poysons which made men dye with least paine, she tried it upon condemned men in prison For when she saw the poysons that were sodaine and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments and in contrary maner, that suche as were more milde and gentle, had not that quicke speede and force to make one dye sodainly she afterwarde went about to prove the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applied unto men in her sight, some in one sorte, and some in an other So when she had dayly made divers and sundrie proofes, she found none of all them she had proved so fit, as the biting of an Aspicke, the which only causeth a heaviness of the head, without swoounding or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleepe, with a litle swet in the face, and so by litle and litle taketh away the senses and vitall powers, no living creature perceiving that the pacientes feele any paine For they are so sorie when any bodie waketh them, and taketh them up as those that being taken out of a sounde sleepe, are very heavy and desirous to sleepe This notwithstanding, they sent Ambassadors unto Octavius Cæsar in Asia, Cleopatra requesting the realme of Ægypt for her children, and Antonius praying that he might be suffered to live at Athens like a private man, if Cæsar would not let him remaine in Ægypt And because they had no other men of estimacion about them, for that some were fledde, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust them they were inforced to sende Euphronius the schoolemaister of their children For Alexas Laodician, who was brought into Antonius house

and favor by meanes of Timagenes, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, then any other Grecian (for that he had alway bene one of Cleopatraes ministers to win Antonius, and to overthrow all his good determinations to use his wife Octavia well) him Antonius had sent unto Herodes king of Iurie, hoping still to keepe him his frend, that he should not revolt from him But he remained there, and betrayed Antonius For where he should have kept Herodes from revolting from him, he perswaded him to turne to Cæsar and trusting king Herodes, he presumed to come in Cæsars presence Howbeit Herodes did him no pleasure for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chaines to his owne contrie, and there by Cæsars commaundement put to death Thus was Alexas in Antonius life time put to death, for betraying of him Furthermore, Cæsar would not graunt unto Antonius requests but for Cleopatra, he made her aunswere, that he woulde deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put Antonius to death, or drive him out of her contrie Therewithall he sent Thyreus one of his men unto her, a verie wise and discreete man, who bringing letters of credit from a young Lorde unto a noble Ladie, and that besides greatly liked her beawtie, might easely by his eloquence have perswaded her He was longer in talke with her then any man else was, and the Queene her selfe also did him great honor insomuch as he made Antonius gealous of him Whereupon Antonius caused him to be taken and well favouredly whipped, and so sent him unto Cæsar and bad him tell him that he made him angrie with him, bicause he shewed him selfe prowde and disdainfull towards him, and now specially when he was easie to be angered, by reason of his present miserie To be short, if this mishlike thee said he, thou hast Hipparchus one of my infranchised bondmen with thee hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleasure, that we may crie quittaunce From thenceforth, Cleopatra to cleere her selfe of the suspicion he had of her, she made more of him then ever she did For first of all, where she did solemmise the day of her birth very meanelly and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune she now in contrary maner did keepe it with such solemnitie, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousnes and magnificence so that the ghests that were bidden to the

Alexas
treason
justly
punished

Pelusium was
yelled up to
Octavius
Cæsar

Cleopatraes
monuments
set up by the
temple of
Isis

feasts, and came poore, went away riche Nowe things passing thus, Agrippa by divers letters sent one after another unto Cæsar, prayed him to returne to Rome, bicause the affaires there did of necessity require his person and presence Thereupon he did deferre the warre till the next yeare following but when winter was done, he returned againe through Syria by the coast of Africke, to make warres against Antonius, and his other Captaines When the citie of Pelusium was taken, there ran a rumor in the citie, that Seleucus, by Cleopatraes consent, had surrendered the same But to cleere her selfe that she did not, Cleopatra brought Seleucus wife and children unto Antonius, to be revenged of them at his pleasure Furthermore, Cleopatra had long before made many sumptuous tombes and monumentes, as well for excellencie of workmanshippe, as for height and greatnes of building, joyning hard to the temple of Isis Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure and pretious things she had of the auncient kings her predecessors as gold, silver, emerods, pearles, ebbanie, ivorie, and sinnamon, and besides all that, a marvelous number of torches, faggots, and flaxe So Octavius Cæsar being affrayed to loose suche a treasure and masse of riches, and that this woman for spight would set it a fire, and burne it every whit he alwayes sent some one or other unto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilst he in the meane time drewe neere the citie with his armie So Cæsar came, and pitched his campe hard by the city, in the place where they runne and manage their horses Antonius made a saly upon him, and fought verie valliantly, so that he drave Cæsars horesmen backe, fighting with his men even into their campe Then he came againe to the pallace, greatly boasting of this victorie, and sweetely kissed Cleopatra, armed as he was, when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes unto her, that had valliantly fought in this skirmish Cleopatra to reward his manlines, gave him an armor and head peece of cleane gold howbeit the man at armes when he had received this rich gift, stale away by night, and went to Cæsar Antonius sent againe to chalenge Cæsar, to fight with him hande to hande Cæsar aunswered him, that he had many other wayes to dye then so Then Antonius seeing there was no way

more honorable for him to dye, then fighting valliantly he determined to sette up his rest, both by sea and lande So being at supper, (as it is reported) he commaunded his officers and household servauntes that waited on him at his bord, that they should fill his cuppes full, and make as much of him as they could for said he, you know not whether you shall doe so much for me to morrow, or whether you shall serve an other maister and it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead bodie This notwithstanding, perceiving that his frends and men fell a weeping to heare him say so to salve that he had spoken, he added this more unto it, that he would not leade them to battell, where he thought not rather safely to returne with victorie, then valliantly to dye with honor Furthermore, the selfe same night within litle of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare and sorrowe, thinking what would be the issue and ende of this warre it is said that sodainly they heard a marvelous sweete harmonie of sundrie sortes of instrumentes of musicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene dauncing, and had song as they use in Bacchus feastes, with movinges and turninges after the maner of the Satyres and it seemed that this daunce went through the city unto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troupe that made this noise they heard, went out of the city at that gate Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the god unto whom Antonius bare singular devotion to counterfeate and resemble him, that did forsake them The next morning by breake of day, he went to set those few footemen he had in order upon the hills adjoyning unto the citie and there he stode to behold his gallies which departed from the haven, and rowed against the gallies of his enemies, and so stode still looking what exployte his souldiers in them would do But when by force of rowing they were come neere unto them, they first saluted Cæsars men and then Cæsars men resaluted them also, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row toward the citie When Antonius sawe that his men did forsake him, and yeelded unto Cæsar, and that his footemen were broken and overthrowen he then fled into the citie, crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him unto them, with whom he had made warre for her

Strange
noises heard,
and nothing
scene

Antonius
navie doe
yeeld them
selves unto
Cæsar
Antonius
overthrowen
by Octavius
Cæsar

Cleopatra
flieth into
her tombe
or monu-
ment

Eros Anton-
ius servant,
slue him selfe

Antonius did
thrust his
sword into
him selfe, but
died not
presently

Antonius
caried unto
Cleopatraes
tombe

sake Then she being affraied of his fury, fled into the tombe which she had caused to be made, and there locked the dores unto her, and shut all the springes of the lockes with great boltes, and in the meane time sent unto Antonius to tell him that she was dead Antonius beleving it, said unto him selfe What doest thou looke for further, Antonius, sith spitefull fortune hath taken from thee the only joy thou haddest, for whom thou yet reservedst thy life² When he had sayd these words, he went into a chamber and unarmed him selfe, and being naked said thus O Cleopatra, it grieveth me not that I have lost thy companie, for I will not be long from thee but I am sory that having bene so great a Captaine and Emperour, I am in deede condemned to be judged of lesse corage and noble minde, then a woman Now he had a man of his called Eros, whom he loved and trusted much, and whom he had long before caused to swear unto him, that he should kill him when he did commaunde him and then he willed him to keepe his promise His man drawing his sworde, lift it up as though he had ment to have stricken his maister but turning his head at one side, he thrust his sword into himselfe, and fell downe dead at his maisters foote Then said Antonius, O noble Eros, I thanke thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to shew me what I should doe to my selfe, which thou couldest not doe for me Therewithall he tooke his sword and thrust it into his bellie, and so fell downe upon a litle bed The wounde he had killed him not presently, for the blood stinted a litle when he was layed and when he came somewhat to him selfe againe, he praied them that were about him to dispatch him But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and tormenting him selfe untill at last there came a secretarie unto him called Diomedes, who was commaunded to bring him into the tombe or monument where Cleopatra was When he heard that she was alive, he verie earnestlie prayed his men to carie his bodie thither, and so he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument Notwithstanding, Cleopatra would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and cast out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which Antonius was trussed and Cleopatra her owne selfe, with two women only, which she had suffered to

come with her into these monumentes, trised Antonius up They that were present to behold it, said they never saw so pitiefull a sight For, they plucked up poore Antonius all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death, who holding up his hands to Cleopatra, raised up him selfe as well as he could It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him up but Cleopatra stowping downe with her head, putting to all her strength to her uttermost power did lift him up with much a doe, and never let goe her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good corage, and were as sorie to see her labor so, as she her selfe So when she had gotten him in after that soite, and layed him on a bed she rent her garments upon him, clapping her brest, and scratching her face and stomake Then she dried up his blood that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperour, forgetting her owne miserie and calamity, for the pitie and compassion she tooke of him Antonius made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either bicause he was a thirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death When he had dronke, he earnestly prayed her, and perswaded her, that she would seeke to save her life, if she could possible, without reproache and dishonor and that chiefly she should trust Proculeius above any man else about Cæsar And as for him selfe, that she should not lament nor sorrowe for the miserable chaunge of his fortune at the end of his dayes but rather that she should thinke him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes and honors he had received, considering that while he lived he was the noblest and greatest Prince of the world, and that now he was overcome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a Romane by an other Romane As Antonius gave the last gaspe, Proculeius came that was sent from Cæsar For after Antonius had thrust his sworde in him selfe, as they caried him into the tombes and monuments of Cleopatra, one of his gard called Dercetæus, tooke his sword with the which he had striken him selfe, and hidde it then he secretly stole away, and brought Octavius Cæsar the first newes of his death, and shewed him his sword that was bloodied Cæsar hearing these newes, straight withdrew him selfe into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with

A lamentable
sight to see
Antonius and
Cleopatra

The death of
Antonius

Octavius
Cæsar
lamenteth
Antonius
death

Proculeus
sent by Oc-
tavius Cæsar
to bring Cleo-
patra alive

teares, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had bene his frende and brother in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in sundry great exploytes and battells. Then he called for all his frendes, and shewed them the letters Antonius had written to him, and his aunsweres also sent him againe, during their quarrell and strife. And how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all just and reasonable matters he wrote unto him. After this, he sent Proculeus, and commaunded him to doe what he could possible to get Cleopatra alive, fearing least otherwise all the treasure would be lost. And furthermore, he thought that if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her alive to Rome, she would marvelously beautifie and sette out his triumphe. But Cleopatra would never put her selfe into Proculeus handes, although they spake together. For Proculeus came to the gates that were very thicke and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes through the which her voyce might be heard, and so they without understoode, that Cleopatra demaunded the kingdome of Ægypt for her sonnes. And that Proculeus aunswered her, that she should be of good cheere, and not be affrayed to referre all unto Cæsar. After he had viewed the place verie well, he came and reported her aunswere unto Cæsar. Who immediately sent Gallus to speake once againe with her, and bad him purposely hold her with talke, whilst Proculeus did set up a ladder against that high windowe, by the which Antonius was trised up, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where Cleopatra stooode to heare what Gallus sayd unto her. One of her women which was shut in her monuments with her, saw Proculeus by chaunce as he came downe, and shrieked out. O, poore Cleopatra, thou art taken. Then when she sawe Proculeus behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed her selfe in with a short dagger she ware of purpose by her side. But Proculeus came sodainly upon her, and taking her by both the hands, said unto her. Cleopatra, first thou shalt doe thyselfe great wrong, and secondly unto Cæsar to deprive him of the occasion and opportunitie, openly to shew his bountie and mercie, and to geve his enemies cause to accuse the most curteous and noble

Cleopatra
taken

Prince that ever was, and to appeache him as though he were a cruell and merciesse man, that were not to be trusted So even as he spake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and shooke her clothes for feare of any poyson hidden about her Afterwardes Cæsar sent one of his infranchised men called Epaphroditus, whom he straightly charged to looke well unto her, and to bewaile in any case that she made not her selfe away and for the rest, to use her with all the curtesie possible

Shortly after, Cæsar came him selfe in person to see her, and to comfort her Cleopatra being layed upon a litle low bed in poore estate, when she sawe Cæsar come in to her chamber, she sodainly rose up, naked in her smocke, and fell downe at his feete marvelously disfigured both for that she had plucked her heare from her head, as also for that she had martired all her face with her nailes, and besides, her voyce was small and trembling, her eyes sonke into her heade with continuall blubbering and moreover, they might see the most parte of her stomake torne in sunder To be short, her bodie was not much better then her minde yet her good grace and comelynes, and the force of her beawtie was not altogether defaced But notwithstanding this oughly and pitiefull state of hers, yet she showed her selfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance When Cæsar had made her lye downe againe, and sate by her beddes side Cleopatra began to cleere and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of Antonius Cæsar, in contrarie maner, reproved her in every poynt Then she sodainly altered her speache, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were affrayed to dye, and desirous to live At length, she gave him a breefe and memoriall of all the readie money and treasure she had But by chaunce there stooode Seleucus by, one of her Treasurers, who to seeme a good servant, came straight to Cæsar to disprove Cleopatra, that she had not set in al, but kept many things back of purpose Cleopatra was in such a rage with him, that she flew upon him, and tooke him by the heare of the head, and boxed him wellfavouredly Cæsar fell a laughing, and parted the fray Alas, said she, O Cæsar is not this a great shame and reproche, that thou having vouch-

Cæsar came to see Cleopatra

Cleopatra, a martired creature, through her owne passion and fury

Seleucus, one of Cleopatras Treasurers Cleopatra bet her treasurer before Octavius Cæsar Cleopatras wordes unto Cæsar

Cleopatra
finely de-
ceiveth Oc-
tavius Cæsar,
as though she
desired to
live

Cleopatraes
lamentation
over Antonius
tombe

saved to take the peines to come unto me, and has done me this honor, poore wretche, and caitife creature, brought into this pitiefull and miserable estate and that mine owne servaunts should come now to accuse me, though it may be I have reserved some juells and trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore soule) to set out my selfe withall, but meaning to geve some pretie presents and gifts unto Octavia and Livia, that they making meanes and intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy favor and mercie upon me? Cæsar was glad to heare her say so, perswading him selfe thereby that she had yet a desire to save her life. So he made her answere, that he did not only geve her that to dispose of at her pleasure, which she had kept backe, but further promised to use her more honorably and bountiffully then she would thinke for and so he tooke his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but in deede he was deceived him selfe. There was a young gentleman Cornelius Dolabella, that was one of Cæsars very great familiars, and besides did beare no evil will unto Cleopatra. He sent her word secretly as she had requested him, that Cæsar determined to take his jorney through Suria, and that within three dayes he would sende her away before with her children. When this was tolde Cleopatra, she requested Cæsar that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead, unto the soule of Antonius. This being graunted her, she was caried to the place where his tombe was, and there falling downe on her knees, embracing the tombe with her women, the teares running downe her cheekes, she began to speake in this sorte. 'O my deare Lord Antonius, not long sithence I buried thee here, being a free woman and now I offer unto thee the funerall sprinklings and oblations, being a captive and prisoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murdering this captive body of mine with blowes, which they carefully gard and keepe, onely to triumphe of thee looke therefore henceforth for no other honors, offeringes, nor sacrifices from me, for these are the last which Cleopatra can geve thee, sith nowe they carie her away. Whilest we lived together, nothing could sever our companies but now at our death, I feare me they will make us chaunge our contries. For as thou being a Romane, hast

'bene buried in Ægypt even so wretched creature I, an Ægyptian, shall be buried in Italie, which shall be all the good that I have received by thy contrie If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power and authoritie, sith our gods here have forsaken us suffer not thy true frend and lover to be caried away alive, that in me, they triumphe of thee but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one selfe tombe with thee For though my griefes and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieved me more, nor that I could lesse beare with all then this small time, which I have bene driven to live alone without thee ' Then having ended these doleful plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands and sundry nosegayes, and marvelous lovingly imbraced the same she commaunded they should prepare her bath, and when she had bathed and washed her selfe, she fell to her meate, and was sumptuously served Nowe whilst she was at dinner, there came a contrieman, and brought her a basket The souldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket He opened the basket and tooke out the leaves that covered the figges, and shewed them that they were figges he brought They all of them marvelled to see so goodly figges The contrieman laughed to heare them, and bad them take some if they would They beleved he told them truely, and so bad him carie them in After Cleopatra had dined, she sent a certaine table written and sealed unto Cæsar, and commaunded them all to go out of the tombes where she was, but the two women, then she shut the dores to her Cæsar when he received this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, founde straight what she ment, and thought to have gone thither him selfe howbeit he sent one before in all hast that might be, to see what it was Her death was very sodaine For those whom Cæsar sent unto her ran thither in all hast possible, and found the souldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death But when they had opened the dores, they founde Cleopatra starke dead, layed upon a bed of gold, attured and araied in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called Iras, dead at her feete and her other woman called Charmion halfe-dead, and tremb-

The death
of Cleopatra

Cleopatras
two waiting
women dead
with her

ling, trimming the diademe which Cleopatra ware upon
 her head One of the souldiers seeing her, angrily sayd
 unto her Is that well done Charmion? Verie well sayd
 she againe, and meete for a Princes descended from the
 race of so many noble kings She sayd no more, but fell
 downe dead hard by the bed Some report that this
 Aspicke was brought unto her in the basket of figs, and
 that she had commaunded them to hide it under the
 figge leaves, that when she shoulde thinke to take out the
 figges, the Aspicke shoulde bite her before she should see
 her howbeit, that when she would have taken away the
 leaves for the figges, she perceived it, and said, Art thou
 here then? And so, her arme being naked, she put it to
 the Aspicke to be bitten Other say againe, she kept it in
 a boxe, and that she did pricke and thrust it with a
 spindell of golde, so that the Aspicke being angered with
 all, leapt out with great furie, and bitte her in the arme
 Howbeit fewe can tell the troth For they report also,
 that she had hidden poyson in a hollow raser which she
 caried in the heare of her head and yet was there no
 marke seene of her bodie, or any signe discerned that she
 was poysoned, neither also did they finde this serpent in
 her tombe But it was reported onely, that there were
 seene certeine fresh steppes or trackes where it had gone,
 on the tombe side toward the sea, and specially by the
 dores side Some say also, that they found two litle pretie
 bytings in her arme, scant to be discerned the which it
 seemeth Cæsar him selfe gave credit unto, bicause in his
 triumphe he caried Cleopatraes image, with an Aspicke
 byting of her arme And thus goeth the report of her
 death Now Cæsar, though he was marvelous sorie for the
 death of Cleopatra, yet he wondred at her noble minde
 and corage, and therefore commaunded she should be
 nobly buried, and layed by Antonius and willed also
 that her two women shoulde have honorable buriall

Cleopatra
 killed with
 the biting of
 an Aspicke

The image
 of Cleopatra
 caried in
 triumphe at
 Rome, with
 an Aspicke
 biting of her
 arme